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COVER

BEAUTY AND THE BREAST

More than one million North
American women have had
breast implants, about 80 per
cent of them for cosmetic
reasons—they simply want
larger breasts. Now, while
some surgeons and their pa-
tients continue to defend the
procedure, reports of rup-
tured implants, disease and
disfigurement have others
wondering if the price of the
North American obsession is
too high.

—28

CANADA

PREPARING THE ENDGAME

Parliamentary differences slowed the re-
lease of the final report by the Do-
herty-Borden joint parliamentary
committee on renewed federalism—and underscored the prob-
lem facing Prime Minister Brian
Mulroney's government as it pre-
pares to present its formal constitutional
proposal to the nation. —14



BUSINESS

DECODING THE BUDGET

Donald Macdonald's first budget
struck a fiery spark not de-
signed, and the federal finance
minister, to restore confidence in
an economic recovery. A close look
at his tax and spending plans re-
veals an such optimism as ex-
istence. Meanwhile, the economy
remains the depressed side. —30



MATTERS OF LIFE AND DEATH

I read your Feb. 24 Special Report, "To live or die," as the first of an irresponsible exploration of euthanasia. Those who advocate legalizing euthanasia are seeking society's approval of and participation in suicide—through an unprofessional doctor or by their consent. I do not want the books and pills involved in that. I do not have all the right answers to human suffering, but killing is the wrong answer.

Jenni Lee,
Chilmark, B.C.



Michigan doctor Jack Kevorkian and his "suicide machine": a right to die?

As a humane society, we postpone death for the elderly, infirm and chronically ill until their suffering compels us to step in. In this prolonged contest for the patient's benefit, or our own?

Robert Heller,
Edmonton

A chronically ill patient who can make a sane, rational decision to die should be allowed their option. To prevent abuse and alleviate doctors' consciences, the patient's medical progress should be confirmed by at least three doctors, including the attending physician. Absenteeism is a potential of sound mind should be able to decide a relative or friend to legally request that euthanasia be discontinued. Euthanasia should be bound by strict regulations.

Reinold Jovan,
London, Ont.

Wherever our position on euthanasia, the phrase "dying with dignity" is unethical. We deny that phrase is the assumption that there can be a death without dignity. Perhaps torturers believe this, but surely dignity is death is not meant to confer or remove. The dignity either is inherent in the suffering, to the dying, to the death. Whatever is done (or not done) to alleviate the circumstances of our death, the essential dignity of our dying remains unaffected by the manner of our going.

Dorel Hrivnac,
Gatineau

THE POPULAR HOPPER

Peter C. Newman reports that Petro-Canada chairman Robert Hopper lives as if made free of the Reform party as he would a party of Modern fundamentalists ("Bob Hopper's blind and falling prescriptions," *Newsweek* March 15). Petrocan has no hope, under its current leadership, of ever prying off its hypocritical. I can imagine that Hopper would be about as popular with free-enterprise President Manu Singh's Reform party as Science Minister would be at Friday prayers. *Toronto*

D. Harvey Arnold,
Calgary, B.C.

anywhere in Canada need only look around him to see such a system in operation.

Fred C. March,
Cochrane, B.C.

FOTHERINGHAM TWICE-RITTEN

I was shocked to read Allan Fotheringham—in his own column, no less—described as "rude and obnoxious," "a total idiot," "a bully," "radically right-wing" and "the master of Canadian conservatism" ("The readers talk back—with a bang," Feb. 24). Finally, a Fotheringham column worth reading. *Michael Whitfield, Peterborough, Ont.*

Perhaps "The readers talk back—with a bang," in which several readers take a cheap shot at Dr. Rich, demonstrates that Canadians do not understand light switches. Such tripe leads me to conclude that Rich's critics should stick to a more simple medium where everything is explained. Keep up the spirit of the back page. *Douglas C. Morley, Brampton, Ont.*

LETTERS may be condensed. Please include name, address and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the editor: National Magazine, Montreal House 101, 111 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7. Or fax: (416) 593-1730.

PASSAGES

DIED: Vancouver-born economics professor and conservative activist S. L. (Samuel) Lehyel Hayskew, 66, of a stroke in a Greenview, Calif., hospital. Despite his Japanese-Canadian ancestry, he was called the "American of Japanese North American descent." During the Second World War "undiscoverable." In 1961, he gained international recognition when, on his first day as acting president of San Francisco State College, he had down and Vietnam War protesters by standing on their sound track and repeating their speaker's words. Hayskew became an American citizen in 1964 and, at 24, was a student in the Service. Because of his frequent trips during wartime, colleagues called him "Ginger Slim."



DIED: Jean K. Sawley, 83, two-thirds majority owner of the American Legion Post 1234 in Red Sea hotel and the first woman to be named to the 1984 of Ford's board of directors, of the effects of a stroke suffered in Feb. 29, in a Boston hospital. A former New York City fashion model, Sawley was married to wealthy businessman-sportsman Thomas A. Sawley, the sole owner of the Red Sea until he died in 1976. One-child carrier, Hayskew, Sullivan (died) reports that the child would never be sold to the highest bidder.

DIED: Premier Canadian broadcaster and a founding member of the CBC network George Richard (Dick) Ross, 59, in an Edmonton hospital. Born in Tullaghan, England, Ross moved to Canada in 1970 and settled in Edmonton, where he helped to

start the city's first radio station, CRO, in 1922. He was station manager there for 12 years. Ross married Edmonton's first TV licensee in 1948, and the CRO-TV went on the air six years later.

BORN: To Academy Award-winning actor Jack Nicholson, 54, and girlfriend, Rebecca Broussard, 28, an eight-pound, impetuous, whose name was not immediately announced. The couple have one other child, daughter Lorraine Broussard-Nicholson, who was born 22 months ago. Nicholson has another daughter, Jennifer, 28, from his earlier marriage to actress Sandra Knight. That marriage ended in divorce after five years, in 1968. Nicholson won Oscars for his performances in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and *Tomb Raider*.

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PREPARING THE ENDGAME

WITH ITS FINAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS DUE IN MID-APRIL, OTTAWA NOW HAS TO BUILD A CONSENSUS

For five months, the 30 men and women struggled to find an elusive harmony among the often divergent voices of Canadians seeking to define their nation's future. Traveling together from Charlottetown to Vancouver, the members of Parliament and senators who comprised the Special Joint Committee on a Renewed Canada appeared to gain a deeper appreciation for their country—and one another. “I have never experienced anything like it,” New Democratic Party MP Louis Mironneau marvelled recently, as he discussed the bonds created between representatives from different parties. Then, when committee members met last week to draft their final report, that spirit suddenly succumbed to divisions as their goal of consensus on a constitutional resolution faltered. Motivated by disagreements among Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats, and successive days and nights of emotion-charged, heated meetings, the first report left in its wake broad leavings and an uncertain path for its inevitably uneven conclusions. Tory Senator Gérard Daulieu, who co-chaired the committee with Tory MP Dorothy Dobbie, hailed the document as an “extraordinary” expression of support for the principles of renewed federalism—but the report itself is vague on details and filled with conditional approvals.

Although the committee's report is only the first stage in the latest round of constitutional brinkmanship, it underlined the prospects—and problems—confronting Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government as it prepares to meet May 1. That will take place in mid-April when Ottawa releases its revised constitutional proposals, based in part on reactions to the Dobbie-Daulieu report. Privately senior government officials told Mulroney's that their two greatest anxieties concern one as obscure



Bourassa (left) and Dobbie after agreement: emotion-charged meetings

speech by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa and the enthusiastic show of support by Liberal Leader Jean Charest, who remains deeply unpopular among Quebec nationalists. They added that the Prime Minister was widely dismayed by the rifts that had erupted among committee members. Said one Mulroney adviser: “We always believed that agreement among the parties was desirable—but by no means certain.”

As it turned out, the final agreement among committee members came just 14 minutes before the Parliament opened its doors for midnight on Feb. 28. The report, which is not binding on Ottawa or the provinces, called for constitutional recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, recognition of the “abstention”

right of native people to self-government, an elected Senate and a social charter to safeguard Canada's social programs. The committee also recommended a new division of powers between Ottawa and the provinces—including the granting of new powers to Quebec to preserve the French language and culture.

Ultimately, the government's strategy for selling its constitutional package rests on building a complex and fragile consensus that extends well beyond traditional party allegiances. In the battle to win support in Quebec, one key step will be to solidify the government's 56 members from that province. Most Quebec Tories have shown little public enthusiasm for federalism since the collapse of the Meech Lake constitutional accord in June.

1990. Now, however, Mulroney plans to apply strong pressure on Quebec Conservatives to speak out in favor of the government's final proposals. In line with that effort, advisers at the Prime Minister's Office will monitor public appearances by Tory MPs. Still, one senior Quebec Tory cabinet minister “isn't being made clear that anyone who sits on the sidelines for this will not be forgotten,”

Heid sources add that key elements of the government's forthcoming proposals will—in contrast to the failed Meech Lake constitution—

as's chief of staff, John Panatier, is in frequent contact with PMO officials, and visits the capital several times each month for private consultations with senior government and opposition leaders. And Tory sources told Mulroney's that Mulroney will be involved in all aspects of the mid-April proposals before they are made public.

To win over Rite, Mulroney is expected to agree to his demand—collected in last week's preliminary committee report—that the Constitution guarantee social rights for Canadians. The federal Tories actually rejected that proposal because, they said, it would cap their recent in court action in an effort to force governments to spend huge amounts on new or existing social programs. But Rite and other supporters maintain that guarantees could be included in the social charter in a way that would not require endorsement by the courts—and PMO officials now say that they accept the premier's argument. Another almost certain element of the final package, aimed at securing the support of the three Prairie provinces, is a proposal to reform the Senate by giving it increased power, elected representatives and more equitable representation from each of the country's five main regions. But like last week's report, the proposals appear certain to fall short of western demands for full provincial equality.

Many of the main elements of the constitutional package are expected to be finalized at a meeting of non-governmental affairs ministers to be convened before and March by Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark. That session will likely be followed by at least one more ministerial meeting. Although Bourassa and his ministers have said that they will continue to support the package, the Quebec government is likely to send an observer—and to be fully briefed by federal officials on developments.

In addition, PMO strategists say that they hope to make progress on an agreement with aboriginal groups at a conference scheduled to take place in Ottawa on March 14 and 15. Ovide Mercredi, the leader of the Assembly of First Nations, which represents status Indians, stated federal officials last month by declaring that the AFN's goal was to achieve self-government over all matters, except monetary and military issues. But Mercredi has never been privately enticed by other native leaders for taking such an extreme position. Moreover, some federal officials say that they have received indications that if Mercredi fails to adopt a more moderate position, other high-ranking AFN members are prepared to try to replace him out of concern that he might destroy any chance of an agreement. Spending privately to Mulroney's last week, several government advisers confirmed those reports.

To bolster their optimism, Mulroney's advisers point to a series of confidential public results that indicate that attitudes among Canadians towards native rights and Quebec have undergone significant changes since the Meech Lake collapse. Among them:

● Growing support for the concept of native self-government, based on a conviction that the current system is unfair to native people. Six

National Notes

DEFINING PORTRAITRY

As mandated under the Copyright Act of Canada, the Copyright Commission is currently reviewing the anti-pornography provisions of the Criminal Code as a possible limitation on freedom of expression. The nine members also set new guidelines for defining pornography films and magazines that depict sex motivated with violence, sex involving children or sex that degrades or dehumanizes an individual are considered offensive to community standards, and are illegal. But the court ruled that other sexually explicit material, or work that has scientific, artistic or literary merit, should not be involved in a Federal Justice Minister John Campbell welcomed the ruling and said that he hopes to introduce a new child-pornography law by the fall.

A BROKEN PROMISE

Federal Health Minister Basil Boudreau announced that the Conservative government has abandoned its long-standing commitment to create a national child-care program. Boudreau said that the multi-billion dollar day care strategy, which was first proposed in 1981, has been cancelled to provide funds for other social programs, including a campaign against child poverty.

BANKS GOES HOME

Conservative member Lawrence (Banks) Banks is giving up her legal battle to secure refugee status and is returning to prison at the United States. Banks, 33, a former Playboy Club waitress and former Milwaukee police officer, escaped from prison and fled to Thunder Bay, Ont. in July 1980, where she was arrested three months later. Banks claims that she was treated for the 1981 killing of Christine Schabtz, the former wife of her then-husband, Alfred Schultz, because she had complained publicly about alleged corruption in the police force. Banks' lawyer, Douglas Hart, said that his client, who has spent the past 15 months in a Toronto jail, decided to drop her legal action when it became clear that no Canadian court would agree to consider her case by granting her refugee status. Hart told reporters that, to his knowledge, no deal had been made between Banks and Wisconsin authorities to encourage her to return to the United States.

FLOODING THE PLACE

Four towns along Alberta's Peace River, flooding sections of the town of Peace River, 375 km northwest of Edmonton, and forcing about 4,000 residents to flee from their homes to higher ground.

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BUILT FOR THE HUMAN RACE

SIGNALS OF WAR

SOUTH AFRICA
BRACES FOR
VIOLENCE AS
REFORMS TO END
APARTHEID ARE
PUT TO A VOTE

South Burch admits that she is profoundly fearful. She is afraid for herself, for her children and grandchildren, and for the legacy she had always thought would be theirs, a white-dominated South Africa. Living in Stellenbosch, a picturesque university town of oak-lined streets 50 km east of Cape Town, Burch is among these South African whites who openly worry about President F. W. de Klerk's two-year-old campaign to give political equality to the country's 25 million blacks. "I don't want to be swamped by the blacks," said the 60-year-old grandmother and manager of a small carpet-laying company. But it is the fear of greatest turmoil—even war—that the reform process is envisioned that is likely to propel Burch to support de Klerk in a whites-only referendum on March 17. If de Klerk and his National Party should lose the vote, she warns, "we will have the most terrible war with the blacks, and the world will hate us again." She added: "My heart wants to vote no but my head says yes, and I know that I will vote yes."

However reluctantly, a majority of South Africa's three million white voters are expected to support de Klerk's bold attempt to decide the country's post-apartheid future. The president has promised to resign if he loses the referendum to his largely right-wing, pro-apartheid opponents, who are quarantined by the Conservative Party and its leader, Andrew Treacher, 71. But even if de Klerk wins, the road to victory may be bloody. In black and white extremist groups have vowed to use violence to stop the path toward racial reconciliation. That threat has led many observers to predict that the referendum—and its aftermath—could ignite the gravest crisis in South Africa's already tumultuous history. Nelson Mandela, whose African National Congress (ANC) began negotiating constitutional reforms



Afrikaner Resistance Movement in training: the road to victory may be bloody

with de Klerk after the black leader was released from prison two years ago, said in a newspaper interview that if voters repudiated the dismantling of apartheid, "they would have to throw us all in jail." Said Mandela: "On the outcome may hang the future of us all." But the black and white groups that are opposed to any kind of racial power-sharing appear equally implacable. The neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWM), which supports the Conservatives' demand for a return to full apartheid and all-white rule, declared that it would attempt to block whites from

voting in the referendum. "We cannot allow them to be led to the slaughter like lambs," said AWM leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, who has about 8,000 armed men in secret commando-like units that his organization has established. Asked Terre'Blanche: "Blacks have declared war on your property rights, we are going to have war." Meanwhile, the militant anti-white Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) claimed that its membership now exceeds that of the rival anti-apartheid wing, the African People's Liberation Army, former police that include assassinating police officers, 250

of whom, black and white, were killed last year. The frenzy of bloodshed weighs heavily on South Africa's white minority as it prepares to choose its future path. In Stellenbosch, which was home to some of apartheid's leading leaders, many of the Dutch-descended Afrikaners remain hesitant to back de Klerk's reforms. Even though the experts to support the president, though said that the murdered the ANC and de Klerk's support were very future with him," she said. "These black people are, with a

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RETURN OF A DISCIPLE

Isidoro Marcos, widow of ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos, will return his body to the Philippines for burial from Hawaii, where he died in exile in 1989. The former first lady—who fled the country with her husband after his overthrow in 1986—had requested a state funeral in Manila. But the government of President Corason Aquino, heading toward, ruled that the most send his body directly to his home province of Ilocos Norte, 400 km north of the capital, Manila. Marcos, 51, returned to the Philippines in November, and is currently a candidate in presidential elections to be held in May.

ISRAELI AID PURGE

On the same day that peace talks between Israelis and Arabs resumed in Washington, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that \$11.6 billion in loan guarantees to the Jewish state should be linked to a freeze on settlements in the occupied territories. The announcement provoked an angry response in Jerusalem, where Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin accused the United States of "misreading" the explosion of humanitarian aid to influence policy.

ARCTIC TIME BOMB

Despite official denials, Russian nuclear expert Andrey Zolotarev told a British TV network that he more than 27 years, the former Soviet Union actually dumped thousands of tons of radioactive waste into the Kara Sea in the country's Arctic. Zolotarev, who said that he had seen 850 containers proving his claim, called the area "a ticking time bomb."

A WARNING TO IRAD

In a message that marked the first anniversary of the invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security Council condemned Iraq for refusing to destroy its remaining missile-related equipment. The United Nations also demanded that Baghdad bring its weapons capability or face "serious consequences." Iraq officials argue that some of the arms can be converted for peaceful civilian purposes.

THUNDER DOWN UNDER

In an escalating war of words, Kristina von Mecklenburg, Prime Minister Poul Keating for putting his arms around Queen Elizabeth's waist during her official state visit to Canberra, a Jewish of royal protocol. In turn, the controversial new leader suggested that Keating had not adequately defended his Roman colony in the Second World War. Some say he retorted by calling him "an utter buffoon" who ruled "a country of neo-cons."



Shanty housing near Little Rock: trying to drag one of the nation's most impoverished states into the late 20th century.

THE UNITED STATES

The Battle of Arkansas

Frustration and poverty abound in the state

Downed like fallen trees the Mississippi overbanks know in Arkansas as the Delta, lying out as a thick blanket of grey—and drag gauges in Arkansas an abandoned port of 8,000 that Mark Twain once praised as "one of the prettiest situations on the river," white couples burned just the boarded-up storefronts along the levees to reach the Congo Restaurant, billed as the "Home of the Blues Burger." Some had come from their big antebellum houses up on the hill that roiled in era when the town was a Civil War battleground in 1863. But now, only a block west on Main Street, where once the Congo partners would dance to minstrel after dark, another struggle raged. Along the sidewalk along a five-block shantytown, brick houses dated the rows of cedar-black hovels.

Around outside the ramshackle Congo Foodstall, black youths milled aimlessly leaving for another occasion in the drug war years. Already, as one week, gun battles had sent eight scores speeding northward to the Elm-Frederic Traneau Center across the river in Memphis.

Just a few down from the club, Edwin Redman slipped \$100 on the counter of the J. B. Sport. "They like a hell of a lot of books. It was a dose of legal fast for his try. 'Disruption this town,'" he said. "Armed here, they can't get no other way to live." An unemployed welder Redman now scuffles for menial work at men's store; in a room where the pillowcase is more than 11 per cent—four points above the national average. "No one's here for anybody—black or white," said Redman. On a television set behind the counter, scenes from

last week's southern presidential primary campaign flickered across the screen. But amid the poverty and drags of Arkansas, the presidential process seemed a distant and irrelevant rite. In fact, as Arkansas Gov. William Clinton sought to win the state, he was also trying to win the support of the nation's voters by claiming that they deserve his record in his home state: the plight of towns like Helena threatened to end another close as his presidential campaign. Said Redman: "I don't think Bill Clinton has produced a job around here. No in Georgia."

His campaign underscored the further divisions hanging over 45-year-old Clinton's candidacy, which has already been weakened by allegations of plagiarism and secret ones that he attempted to avoid military service during the Vietnam War. Now, the uncertainty for many to estimate his Arkansas record may leave Clinton open to a political assault that he may find difficult to withstand.

That vulnerability was pointedly apparent last week. While his state was struggling through the South's hardest recession in more than a half century, Clinton was stuck in the state capital of Little Rock, where he had called a special session of the legislature to pass a \$17-million package aimed at reforming Arkansas's child-welfare laws.

Despite his denials, Clinton's sudden urge to

speed legislation in mid-campaign appeared to be a ploy to win a fundraising advantage and fend off a bid by the St. Francis-based Center for South Law. Representatives of the center contended that Arkansas had failed to provide adequate protection for its abused and neglected children, who are the very constituency of the governor and his wife, Hillary, have long claimed as their main concern. The bill passed, but Representative James Glavin, Wilson complained: "We are here not for the protection of our children, we are here for the protection of our butt."

After 12 years in office, Clinton has won the respect of many political enemies for attempting to drag one of the nation's weakest and most impoverished states into the late 20th century. And few opponents contest his claims to having radically overhauled Arkansas's education system, once rated the country's worst. Since Hillary Clinton spearheaded her husband's educational reform program in 1983, he has increased spending on the state's public school system. Moreover, Clinton, who had done a strong and controversial act of accompanying standards, which included testing teachers, firing parents for their children's chronic truancy and withholding driver's licenses from high-cholesterol dropouts. The measures have not yet shown clear results in improved test scores among students that Arkansas can now claim the nation's lowest high-cholesterol rate, and 34 per cent more of those graduates go on to college than did before 1983.

But in Arkansas, progress in many other social issues has been slow. In 1992, the state found itself as the national spotlight when one of Clinton's predecessors, Gov. Orval Faubus, called upon the Arkansas National Guard to block the racial integration of Little Rock Central High School. Thirty-five years later, the strictly yellow-tinted and white-coloured school, located just a few blocks from the governor's mansion, has undergone the same changes as its sister efforts across Arkansas and the South. Once an all-white school, the student population is now largely black. And many who families have left Little Rock for the suburbs or now send their children to private schools, some of which are run by evangelical churches. The result has been a shift towards voluntary re-segregation. Dennis Bryant, formerly a black peace councillor at Central High, said that although white parents cite religious reasons for choosing private schools, "the bottom line is, they're of white."

Under his school reforms, Clinton's economic record has come under attack. At his Little

Rock campaign headquarters, a news release claimed that Clinton meant the state to stay put, not to start a new era. But Clinton, in an effort to deal with the problems of himself with every Democratic presidential nominee John F. Kennedy, had under William Reuther, head of the Arkansas AFL-CIO—last speaking as an individual citizen—argued that the state has consistently rated among the country's top 10 in unemployment. Reuther added that Arkansas not only ranks lowest in the country for job safety, but has an hourly manufacturing wage that is \$2.35 below the national average. "If every politician, we're at the bottom," said Reuther. "So what's to be done?"

One area that is showing a turnaround is health care. The state's health care system, once one of the nation's poorest, is now among the best. The state's health care system, once one of the nation's poorest, is now among the best. The state's health care system, once one of the nation's poorest, is now among the best.

Clinton with wife Hillary. Fighting off stepping-off attacks



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the high state-lake losses of Vertec Chemical Inc., an estimated 30-800 drums of deadly, dioxin-laden toxic waste. They remain from the days when the plant produced one quarter of the dioxin known in Agent Orange, which was widely used in the Vietnam War. Noxious mutant mosquitoes and weed and patches on their lawn, residents had come to call the town "Dioxinville."

But for Bergschneider, death struck when her husband's cancer, involving lung cancer in 1989. He died, then within a week of being diagnosed. After her 17-year-old son got into cancer and her daughter suffered a series of miscarriages, Bergschneider turned to other residents and environmentalists to protest the state's plan to accelerate the waste. Just two weeks ago, the Indiana Department of Environmental Protection Agency suddenly halted a bid to build at the Vertec plant their finding "low-level" of dioxin leaking from its tanks.

As a result, Clinton encountered outraged environmentalists, led by a glossy protester wearing a rubbery green superman mask, when he returned to Arkansas last week. Said Brian Hurl, a former Gossopier staff member who is following the governor on the campaign trail to protest his environmental policies: "If Clinton gets the nomination, he's run against the only other major candidate with a worse environmental record George Bush." And Reuther and that he is furious at action by Clinton's Arkansas Industries Development Corp., which he said try to lure new industries to the state by promising tax incentives. "They're selling cheap labor," he said. "They're laughing about it. It's like a Third World state."

In fact, leaving Little Rock's glowing office towers for the impoverished eastern strip of the state along the Mississippi River a riverboat drive away looks like stumbling onto a mine

swamp, unrelieved in the gloomy statistics of Clinton campaign launches. As James Haskins, owner of Haskins's J. B. Sport Shop put it, "When you come down this way, you're in another part of Arkansas." He gestured helplessly towards the darkness beyond his door, where a new pickup truck loaded with teenagers cruised the street and two drunks staggered down the sidewalk clutching his liquor store's wares in paper bags. It was a classic scene of southern rural despair. But captured in the freeze-frame of an opponent's political campaign commercial it could have been told to the presidential logos of Arkansas's governor.

MARC MCNEAL in Arkansas

Letter from Tallinn

Life and death in Tallinn

Maclean's Senior Writer Peter Kopelman, born in Montreal in 1954 of Estonian parents, has maintained strong ties with Estonia and its culture since his childhood. He recently travelled to the capital, Tallinn, as his family's representative at the funeral of his only uncle. His report

I saw my father's brother, Heiko, only four times in my life. The first, in 1974 when I visited Estonia as a 19-year-old and walked the cobblestoned streets of Tallinn with the uncle who had until then been nothing more than a name on a Soviet-stamped envelope. In my heart I acknowledged the blood line that bound us, wrote to him a few times after my return to Canada—and then allowed the relationship to lapse. It came as a shock to me when 15 years later, he visited Canada and we greeted each other with a rush of emotion that, I believe, neither of us had been prepared for. A month later, he was, again, dead. I finally returned to Estonia for a visit that strengthened the bonds, not only between us but also between me and my parents' homeland. During the following years we exchanged frequent letters. I crafted coupons, he gave me advice that was almost paternal in tone. But each year I promised to return, each year the promise came to nothing.

I saw my uncle for the last time in June '91, when he lived in the sandy soil of a cemetery near his home in Nõmme, a suburb of Tallinn. At 67, he had collapsed on the street and died there of a massive heart attack. I decided to make the journey to a funeral 6,500 miles away in order to keep a promise—even if it was too late.

The cemetery I returned to was the grip of crisis and change, although my first few days there afforded little opportunity for observation. Instead, I focused for the first time what underlies the country's sad statement, "We buried so-and-so today." In the North American context it has become meaningless, because we personally bury so-one. We arrive at the funeral home, pay our respects, dutifully follow the

hearse to the graveyard and watch as a machine lowers the coffin into the grave. In contrast, my uncle's funeral was very much an old-country, last-of-its-kind affair.

My uncle's daughter, her husband, her half sister, a man from my aunt's workplace and I collected him from the morgue, popularly known as the *sewage house*—"dead street"—in Estonia. There, in a dirty, dimly lit room, piled high with rusty metal stretchers, my uncle lay in his coffin. In a side room, what appeared to be newly arrived outsiders covered with blankets lay on the bare concrete floor. We bowed respectfully around my uncle's body and then put on the coffin lid. I had to step up uncle's feet because he stood when we in the way. We signed for him, as a doctor looked down, cover him with the hospital-issue white Linplast sheet—"Corpses shall..."

With a borrowed truck we transported my uncle to the cemetery chapel, where we arranged him in the wood and stone aisle for a local Lutheran ceremony. Muscles straining, we carried him through frosty Tallinn snow to his last resting place and lowered him into his grave with arms that threatened to slip from our icy hands. Shovels were provided by the graveyard, after a few more words from the pastor we filed in the hole, arranged the funeral flowers to the sound and to candles.

There was an intimacy to the exercise, a sense of providing the dead with his final home that I had not experienced before. The greater darkness came only in Northern Europe; by last October, when we finally left the grave site, twilight had already arrived under the pine trees sheltering the cemetery. We walked back towards the cars along the cold, muddy path, leaning on our chests. I looked back and, for the first time, saw the candles around my uncle's grave, twinkling in the gathering darkness before a head in the road took us out of sight.

Even without the emotional turmoil, it was a great time to return to Estonia. As the attempted Soviet coup last August quivered and failed, the country, almost miraculously, reclaimed its lost independence—and in now paying the price. Rampant inflation and shortages grip the nation. The highly visible presence of an estimated 40,000 Red

Army soldiers still on Estonian soil serves as an uneasy reminder that a small country, although independent, can all too easily be at the mercy of its larger neighbors. And although signs of economic dedication as the former communist parts of the Soviet Union were already leading to new through signatures and the TV news, the reality still had the capacity to shock.

My wife's elderly cousin showed us his apartment, the best at 33° C because, as expected, Boris Yeltsin's Russia had turned off the fuel taps to Estonia. The shelves of the state-owned food stores were almost bare, with long lines for what little was still available. Passing by one shop during a twilight walk through Tallinn, my cousin Mark audibly exclaimed, "Oh my God, chickens," and disappeared inside. The chicken went unsought. "They ruble's kids," she explained in disbelief. "It was less than 10 rubles only six months ago." Instead, she emerged triumphantly from the shop with another treasure: a dozen eggs.

But goods are available—in Western currency. Since my last trip, most shops accept only *marka*—hard currency—have sprung up, seemingly at-will. Two days after my uncle's funeral, my aunt became sick and I went in search of honey for her sweet tooth. I finally found some in a downtown hard-currency store. Estonian honey, so idle

ware in Finnish, Swedish, German and English to businessmen, driven by the allure of a newly emerging capitalist society, converged on a part of the world that some observers have nicknamed the new economic Wild West.

Among my family, friends and acquaintances stories circulated widely about fortunes made or about to be realized. "Time and again, people spoke of local entrepreneurs who are barely paying us scrap metal at bargain-basement prices and selling it for hard currency to Western companies. Fears already abound that huge amounts of private Estonian real estate will be bought by Western interests. There is a theme that all too familiar to Canadians, the selling of Estonia to gain hard currency. "One man in Moscow built a grand house, then wanted to buy the next-door property," my cousin's husband told me. "He offered his neighbor three million rubles. His neighbor refused. No one wants rubles anymore."

On my last day in Estonia, my cousin and I made a final run to my uncle's grave. The flowers were just beginning to wilt, but seedlings had disappeared. My cousin worried that they had been stolen—a valid concern in a society in which people routinely remove their wheelchairs, papers for unloading after parking their cars. Absently, I remembered a story told to me during my last visit, about a man who so loved the house he would be sure that he bought a vicious guard dog and kept the animal in the vehicle at all times. He emerged from his apartment one morning to discover that not only had everything in the car stolen but the car been removed, but the locked-up dog, in his desperate fury at the thieves, had torn apart the car's interior.

Mark examined the sandy soil around the grave, then happily held up the stalk of a candle. They burned down church," she announced. We lit two more and placed them among the flowers piled on the burial mound. I remembered my uncle as I first saw him in 1974, short, prematurely aged, elegant. In a gesture common to many who love under Moscow's shadow, he bunched his shoulders and whispered, even in open spaces, as he raised against his under communism. (During our later encounters, with the Soviet Union already crumbling and the swirl of freedom in the air, he lost that mannerism. Among the thoughts swirling in my mind at the graveside I recognized a last, albeit slightly to him for not returning home.)

But there was also a larger issue that something else had irrevocably passed—not just one of my last Mark (as in my parents' homeland). Canadian-born, I grew up in an expatriate community that upheld its generation with a sense of mythical Estonian nationalism. We were raised on a diet of national myth with many eyes, of stories of great deeds accomplished in the face of incredible adversity, of persecution during centuries of oppression. Independence for Estonia became our religion and we embraced it fervently, even though realistically few of us ever expected to see our dreams come true. The Estonian nation of evil—in our case, Soviet communism—tremendously appeared too real and unacceptable. Now, our particular Great Saint Old has died and died, and our parents' homeland is in the throes of economic as lightning speed. Saying my farewell to my uncle, I realized that the time has perhaps and perhaps—in a fact, the fact of my childhood—has passed. It has been replaced by the formidable task of building a small nation against incredible odds. □



Root Kopelman at her father's graveside in Estonia



Lineup at a Tallinn shoe store: rampant inflation and shortages grip the nation

44 44 20 (U.S.) or its equivalent in other Western cash for a small price. The cashier's computerized cash register converted the U.S. 20 into a Canadian dollar almost instantly. I took one last look at the shelves before leaving. Most were empty, but some shelves were still full. The empty shelves of the state-owned stores and the wealth of the apartment: Under the old regime, society was polarized between those who had access to Communist party privileges and those who did not. "None," he said, "our society is becoming polarized between those who can pay in rubles—and those who cannot."

Those who can are becoming more visible—and more numerous. On the streets of Tallinn, gleaming new Mercedes-Benzes and Volvo move like sharks among the schools of tired and dejected Soviet-style cars. "Who owns them?" I asked a local. Renters, he answered, as well as Estonians who are involved in joint enterprises with Western firms. By some accounts, more than 1,000 foreign companies have already moved into the country. My flight to New Helsinki in Tallinn bore witness to the changing economic times. Beside me, a businessman pored over an economic prospectus in Swedish. Conversation

IRELAND

A young girl's agony

A teen's pregnancy sparks a fierce debate

I might have been just another private tragedy, bearing apart the lives of those involved but leaving the wider world untouched. On Jan. 27, a 14-year-old girl from a family in suburban Dublin told her parents that she was pregnant after being raped by the father of her last child. With abortion

still only two days before the controversy over the girl broke. And the Irish Times ran a front-page cartoon showing her being caressed by a little girl holding a teddy bear on a map of Ireland, with the caption, "The introduction of abortion in Ireland... for 14-year-old girls." It is so obvious the paper added nothing



London demonstrators in favor of the girl's right to an abortion; calls for a referendum

overturned the earlier judgment, saying it would never be full ruling (this week).

But even before the judges made their decision, there were clear signs that public opinion had been deeply affected by the case. A poll for Britain's Sunday Independent found 66-percent support for changing the constitution to allow abortion in some still undefined cases, with just 28 per cent against. Groups pressing for more relaxed laws said that the emotional impact of the teenager's pregnancy had forced many people who supported the total ban on abortion to reconsider. "This was a case they couldn't ignore," said Jonathan O'Brien, spokesman for the Irish Family Planning Association. "They were forced to open their eyes and actually look."

Abortion remains such a sensitive issue in Ireland that even pro-choice groups approach it

overturn the earlier judgment, saying it would never be full ruling (this week).

But by then, a teenager's private grief had been turned into a national trauma.

The girl, whose identity as well as that of her family has remained protected, planned to return to London for an abortion after the referendum was delivered. Her story was a horrific account of trust betrayed: a schoolgirl at a convent, she told psychologists that the nun who had shared her for a year and then had full intercourse with her last December.

The extreme nature of the case, and the apparent selfishness of the law, aroused fierce public debate in the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country, which voted by a mere 240-240 margin in a 1983 referendum to place a constitutional ban on all abortions. But now, the law is attracting a barrage of international criticism at a time when Ireland is struggling to strengthen its ties with the European Community.

Within Ireland itself, the painful case has already triggered a blistering public debate. Women's groups protested outside the Dail (parliament) in Dublin. Irish rock star Sinéad O'Connor agreed from London to headlead a protest reading "Raped" and immediately visit a meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, a 56-year-old businessman who took

office only two days before the controversy over the girl broke. And the Irish Times ran a front-page cartoon showing her being caressed by a little girl holding a teddy bear on a map of Ireland, with the caption, "The introduction of abortion in Ireland... for 14-year-old girls." It is so obvious the paper added nothing

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DECODING THE BUDGET

BZZWORDS SOMETIMES OBSCURE REALITY

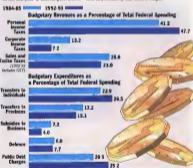
It was a difficult assignment. Federal Finance Minister Donald Macdonald, 56, had to deliver his first budget to a nation caught in the grip of an economic slump that seemed to defy every prediction of recovery. Beyond that, he had to give Conservatives at least a glimmer of hope that they can climb out of the sub-basement they occupy in the polls before the next election, expected in 1993. The result was an ethereal blend of minor tax breaks and mostly symbolic spending cuts that the minister assured shortly weeks of consultation with special-interest groups. In round numbers, the budget contemplates \$139.6 billion in federal spending, \$132.2 billion in revenues—and a deficit that, at \$7.4 billion, will be 45.3 billion higher than the one that Macdonald's predecessor, Michael Wilson, predicted for 1992-1993. Macdonald's use of what lies behind the numbers—and the minister's rhetoric:

'I wanted a budget that would deliver a strong bottom line: one that supports the well-being of Canadians and their families; one that promotes the success of our business people in expanding and creating jobs; one that contributes to a strong and more united Canada.'

Macdonald did not mention that one of his most important goals is to win re-election for his government—the least popular one in the history of Canadian public opinion polling. With that in mind, his budget gave a little something to every Canadian voter in the form of income tax cuts. For those who had demanded economic stimulation, there was a plan to help home buyers—and that also served to appease some of the party's protectionist members. The budget's tone, meanwhile, was carefully upbeating despite the threat to which Macdonald re-

THE TORY SHIFT

How the Conservatives have shifted the federal tax burden—and the bulk of government spending—from companies to individuals since taking over from the Liberals. Selected budgetary revenues and expenditures, as a percentage of the total, in the last year of Liberal government—and as forecast by last week's budget.



Source: Statistics Canada

tained upon and again in his first-year speech was one of confidence and optimism.

Taking account of the public's affinity with Ottawa word, Macdonald at least symbolically included himself and his fellow Conservative ministers in his budget cuts. In effect, the five-per-cent cut that he announced is a bribe for cabinet ministers willing to only pay for their salaries, the real effect amounts to barely a one-per-cent reduction on overall salaries. Similarly, while members of Parliament, senators and senior public servants will no longer be allowed to travel first-class as taxpayers' expenses, they may continue to travel in almost as much comfort in business class. In fact, on

flights within Canada first-class class seats are sold.

Still, the changes look drastic and at odds to the Conservatives' right who have complained loudly about government waste. Still Michael Wilson, executive director of the right-wing Fraser Institute at Vancouver "It's a budget that could have been crafted in the back rooms of the Reform party."

While Macdonald nodded to the political right, he ignored those on the left who had demanded jobs for the country's 1.5 million unemployed. His reasoning: the steady 90 per cent of working Canadians who do have jobs would not tolerate the higher taxes that federal spending cut jobs and have had their unemployment insurance cut off.

'Canadians want to cut the deficit. They do not believe that government can borrow us out of the trouble that governments borrowed us into.'

Macdonald's tough message echoed his declaration that he has made major cuts over the course of seven previous Tory budgets, setting targets that were not met. And Ottawa's failure to meet the current year's deficit targets was brushed aside and reversed movements in future reductions. In fact, although Macdonald's budget calls for the deficit to edge down over the next 12 months, it also acknowledges that the government will encounter its 1991-1992 borrowing target of \$20.5 billion by \$1 billion.

Still, the Tories are claiming some success in reducing the deficit as a proportion of the country's overall economy. By that measure, the deficit will shrink to less than one per cent of Canada's gross domestic product in the coming fiscal year—compared with about nine per cent in 1984-1985, when the Liberals were last in power.

Macdonald's efforts to restrain the deficit could be undone, however, if the previous year's Ottawa's signals and raise their own deficits in the weeks or months ahead. There is strong pressure on them to do just that: the recession and cutbacks in federal transfer payments have increased welfare caseloads, and thousands of Canadians back to school in search of employment skills and led to demands for job-creating investments in such public works as roads and sewers—all of them provincial responsibilities. If the provinces respond by borrowing more, then demand for debt could push interest rates higher—and wipe out most of the economic gains that Macdonald hopes for.

That risk also set off some criticism. NDP Premier Bob Rae, for one, said that Ottawa might raise both its deficit and taxes in its next budget. "What are we supposed to do?" he asked. "Stop paying social assistance to people who're sleeping or who are homeless? Or who haven't got a job and have had their unemployment insurance cut off?"

'We will bolster the recovery by providing a welcome break for Canadian taxpayers and home buyers. The equation is simple: we are reducing spending in order to cut taxes.'

Ottawa is indeed cutting some spending—ending its money to the provinces, spending less on interest on the national debt and in-

creasing the operating budgets of federal departments by three per cent. It is also giving taxpayers a small break by reducing its surtax on federal income tax to four per cent for next year, effective in July 2. A further one-per-cent mortgage interest reduction takes effect next January—just months before the expected 1993 election.

But the total effect is less dramatic than Macdonald's budget makes it appear. The tax cut will create only small savings for most people—with those less than two children and an income of \$40,000 will save \$37 in 1992. The impression of a modest stimulus to the economy from forgone federal taxes this year is also deceptive. In fact, the budget will actually result in Ottawa taking \$8-billion more out of the economy this year than it would have done without the changes. And despite the tax cuts, Ottawa predicts that if the economy improves, Canadian companies and individuals will actually pay \$1.5 billion more in taxes in 1992-1993 than they did in the past 12 months.

'It is impossible to overstate the importance of this dramatic turnaround in the cost of living and doing business in Canada. This will have an increasingly positive effect on all families and all enterprises.'

Inflation in the month before Macdonald delivered his budget was at an annual rate of 3.6 per cent—the lowest figure in 21 years. That fact forced the foundation on which Macdonald built almost everything else in his budget. If his assumption that inflation is going to remain low is correct, and if low interest rates follow, his budget will work. If he is wrong, both the federal government and the economy will be in deep trouble.

In part, Macdonald was playing in his strength. The government's greatest economic success has been its rate on inflation. Assisted by John Crow, governor of the Bank of Canada the Conservatives have even surpassed their own target: as a year ago, of 3.8-per-cent inflation for 1992. Finance department officials now predict that the rate will average 3.2 per cent this year, putting Canada on the favored company of such low-inflation countries as Japan, Germany and Switzerland.

Macdonald is counting on that low inflation rate to deliver enormous economic benefits. He hopes it is that a stable economy will encourage some investment, raise Canadian exports more competitive and protect people living on fixed incomes. At the same time, he anticipates that lower inflation will also lead to a small but steady reduction in interest rates as low as 6.5 per cent by 1992, compared with seven per cent now. If rates do decline, that could lead to mortgage

A WALK ON THE DOWNHILL

After recovering between April and September, 1991, the economy slumped in the fourth quarter of last year because of falling exports and weak consumer spending. Statistics Canada reported that the economy—declined by 4.1 per cent in December, for an annualized decline of 8.8 per cent in the last three months of the year. The federal agency has not yet declared that the recession, which began in April, 1990, is over.

UP IN SMOKE

Joe MacDonell Inc., a subsidiary of New York City-based R.J. R. Reynolds Inc., said that it will not buy tobacco in Canada this year. Tobacco growers said that the discounts will cut sales by 550 million in their industry, which employs 80,000 Canadians. MacDonell said it would buy tobacco outside Canada because the federal government's new \$1-a-pack tax on tobacco exports is pricing it out of business.

AIRLINE LOSSES SOAR

Calgary-based Air Canada, the parent company of Canadian Airlines International, announced a 1991 loss of \$151.7 million in revenues of \$2.8 billion—a performance 10 times worse than the \$14.6 million that the company lost on revenues of \$2.7 billion in 1990. Last week, after Air Canada's Montreal division declared a record loss of \$21.8 million for 1991 on revenues of \$4.5 billion.

PAINT IN THE DISCOUNT BACKS

The Ontario Court of Justice threw down an injunction that the cash-starved paint giant Harsco's DuPont Ltd. class of 140 stores for temporary protection from its creditors. Company executives had sought leave to reorganize the firm's affairs. Instead, the court turned control of the chain over to its 4,800 employees over in Toronto-based receiver, Peter Waterhouse Ltd. After the verdict, the receivers promised to keep the stores open "for a period of time."

THE PAPER SALE

Trading recent speculation about an impending merger of two of Canada's largest newspaper companies, Toronto-based Southern Bell said \$40 million worth of its holdings in Toronto Star to investment center Borsari Pty Ltd. The sale leaves Southern, which owns 18 daily newspapers in Canada, with a 22-per-cent voting stake in Toronto, down from 30 per cent. Toronto, which publishes The Toronto Star and Harbinger Books, still owns a 22-per-cent voting interest in Southern after a 1986 share swap.

The baby bonus: R.I.P.

New child benefits depend on means tests

There was barely a damp eye on the House of Commons on Feb. 25 when the death sentence was pronounced on the baby bonus. Outside Parliament there were scarcely a whisper over the prospect that the mother of all social programs is to disappear, bundled into a program "now recognized child tax benefit" that will be added to selectively to parents as amounts to be determined by computer means tests. But as explained by David Rowland, in a pamphlet that the minister of national health and welfare released with the federal budget, the proposal is part of a plan to create "a legacy of better tomorrow."

It is also the first full achievement of a

ESSAY

compared with roughly \$30 now for the federal family allowance above. But Ottawa is budgeting for an overall increase in 1995 of less than nine cents for every dollar provided this year in combined child-related tax breaks and payments. And by a new system of bookkeeping that offsets the new benefit against tax revenue from families, Manoskewicz shows a net gain of \$170 million to government coffers. Moreover, for all but the poorest families living on less than \$200 a week, the basic benefit declines as their other income grows. It begins to fade away altogether after incomes climb above \$1,700 a week—the end of universality. The bookend pamphlet explains: "Fay-

nor for each child today saves years old. And underlying such complexities, the plan fits in with the Mulroney government's preoccupation with reducing federal outlays, and the budget deficit. The plan raises partial protection against inflation—in annual increases in benefits equivalent to six percent at the same time prices index on average of three percent a year. But, together with its formula for reducing benefits as family incomes rise, the net overall result will be smaller and lower payments except in periods of extreme inflation. That way, the child benefit program could eventually approach the existing paid.

The death knell for social benefits paid without proof of need sounded shortly after Mulroney's Conservative took office in September, 1984. Two months later, in a paper on the need to control spending and the deficit, Michael Wilson, Mulroney's predecessor as Finance, raised the notion of targeting aid only to the truly needy and challenged the "underlying" of benefits—raising them in line with increases in the inflation rate. But, as Wilson says, was a costly system initiated by Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government in 1970-1974 under the authority of the 1967, which then held life and death power over that government in parliamentary votes.

In fact, a program that was more influential in generating an unrelenting string of annual deficits since 1975 was the Trudeau government's shifting of personal tax responsibilities and income tax rates. That led to a revenue. Although Wilson did not advocate the ending of income tax in 1985, and several began outstripping progress spending within two years, he also pointed with his project of carrying the cost of social programs.

When Wilson proposed in 1985 budget to eliminate indexing the first three percentage points of inflation on family allowances and old age security, he provoked a revolt among senior cabinet. He revisited the full address of pensions, but the children were quiet until the period of the end of the baby bonus slipped through. Four years later, when introduced a three-year program that now takes back both the pension and family allowance benefits from beneficiaries with incomes that exceed \$21,000. And that, argues Manoskewicz now, was the true test of death of the principle of universality and social citizenship.

In 1944 and since, the advances of universality in family allowances argued against the alternative, the means test, as a process that divides, discriminates, humiliates and erodes a citizen's privacy. That argument was bolstered by a colonial class bias that the full half of Canada's life to date, when the country was predominantly rural and underdeveloped, being neighbor without capital. And the adoption of universality was inspired in part by the widespread revulsion against means tests for relief during the Great Depression in the 1930s. The substance for the baby bonus can only be outweighed over the way we were, before speaking on the way we are going to be.

CARL MOLLING



Trudeau, social programs that insulated benefits from erosion by inflation

political ideal that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government—guided by its avowed anxiety over budget deficits and its ideological concerns about deflating the market-driven distribution of national income—came into office in 1984. And just as the family allowance—universal, unconditional, instantly adjusted inflation—has been the model since 1944 for national social security, what is supposed to be a new social pattern for the other federal health and welfare programs.

The pension bill for the baby bonus is easily coded: "Child benefits will be completely restructured and substantially restricted," it states. Minister Bernard Manoskewicz says in his budget speech, the benefit will be "as much as \$14 per month for one child."

Means will be updated annually to reflect the latest tax information on family income—"the beginning of a means test, one that perhaps will become more personal and direct for those who do not fit income tax returns."

Other measures are involved in a plan that Manoskewicz said will "targeted" and "erode low" family assistance. In a measure designed as an incentive to force parents to get a job, there will be "a new earned-income supplement up to \$300 per year for low-income working families with children." However, other provisions may paradoxically encourage single parents with several young children to stop at home, those who do not claim a deduction for child-care expenses on their income tax returns will receive an additional \$213 a



Shift change at GM's Oshawa plant: No plant can rest on its laurels

A split in the ranks

GM's plea for concessions has divided workers

John Cusack describes the situation as nothing less than a matter of survival. The 47-year-old father of four has worked in General Motors of Canada's two car-assembly plants in Oshawa, Ont., for 20 years. He has also served in several posts with the local branch of the Canadian Auto Workers union, the last time in the mid-1980s. And until last fall, he says, he thought he had left his union uninvolved behind. But his own hopes to change when hard-line local union leaders steadfastly refused to negotiate more flexible work rules with management—even after Detroit-based General Motors Corp. chairman Robert Stempel said last December that one of the Oshawa plants could close by 1995 as part of a massive cost-cutting drive. Supported by a growing level of other assembly-line workers, Cusack decided to run for chairman of the union last fall. And last spring, he won one of the most lustrous union elections in Canadian history by a 14 margin—4,688 to 4,672. Despite that margin, Cusack is determined to take a conciliatory approach with the company when he assumes his new full-time job this week.

Declared Cusack, "The best way to represent all your members is to keep them employed." That could prove difficult. Last week, an announcement that it lost \$5.3 billion over 1990—the largest loss ever posted by any corporation. Even before the full extent of these losses became clear, Stempel's December announcement unveiled the company's plans to slash costs by closing six vehicle

assembly plants and 15 parts plants in North America by 1995. Stempel announced the first specific closings last week at a union conference in Detroit. He targeted 12 assembly and parts plants, including a truck and a engine plant in St. Catharines, Ont., which employs 2,360 workers. But even though the two Oshawa car plants were spared in the first round of cuts, Stempel said that they are still under scrutiny. As well, after Cusack met informally with GM Canada president George Prelogas in Oshawa last week, the union leader said that GM Canada likely will have to lead as first-line as Detroit within a month. "We get a report, but we are still under the gun," said Cusack. "We have to put together a package that will make our plant attractive compared with other car plants we are competing against."

In fact, although he operates two car and one truck plant in Oshawa, most of the employee concern centers on the factory known as Plant 2, which makes Buick Regals and some Lumina. Company executives first approached union officials last June, asking them to agree to employees' working beyond their shift—work with overtime pay—of production on any day but the weekend. The campaign to cut costs in GM's oldest division, its monthly productivity on average, the Oshawa plants have fallen five to 30 per cent short of their production targets at recent times. But that was the local chairman Thomas Horv, 47, brushed aside the company request because, he says, the company needed to make any

commitment to keep Plant 2 open if the union made concessions. "I was looking for a firm guarantee, but they wouldn't give it," said Horv. The reply: "They're just using hard tactics to try to scare the hell out of workers."

But GM Canada executives say that the union must give ground in order to improve Plant 2's chances of survival. The plant is scheduled to go out of production in the mid-1990s, and the plant is competing with several U.S. factories for a new model. Company officials say that while the Oshawa facility is competitive with plants south of the border on the basis of cost and quality, the U.S. plants have more flexible work rules. But Prelogas:

"No plant can rest on its laurels." Even after the scheduled closures that Stempel announced last week, however, many GM workers in Oshawa remain unconvinced. Jeffrey Speech, a 28-year-old union representative, said he doubts that GM has any serious plans to close a plant in Oshawa. He added: "If they close it, it will be purely a political move—so that they won't have to close a U.S. plant."

The depth of the division among GM's Oshawa workers became clear during the company union election campaign. A first-ballot count on Jan. 25 gave Cusack a 21-vote victory. But Horv challenged that result and, after a recount conducted by national union officials on Feb. 14, that won by 146 votes. The next day, however, union officials said that 160 ballots in Horv's support had allegedly slipped into the counting room in his sock should be disallowed. As a result, Horv agreed to allow Cusack to assume office pending the results of a final investigation by the national union.

The outcome leaves Cusack constrained as he maneuvers to save his members' jobs. Aware of the hostility in concessions, he says that he does not intend to give ground on the mandatory-overtime issue. Instead, he says that he will propose other changes that will allow the company to solve its scheduling problems. Among them: allowing plant managers to schedule three shifts a day instead of the present two, and adopting a so-called continental work week, with seven-day production instead of the current five, in which workers rotate their five working days each week. Cusack added that Stempel said that work spread the GM assembly plant in St. Catharines to make workers available to similar changes. By contrast, the Windsor, Mich., plant, where workers demand overtime to coexist with those.

Cusack acknowledges that even a concessions may not save Plant 2. "All you can do is put your best foot forward," he said. Still, he argues, "If you do nothing, you're dead and no one can win." But while Cusack's fellow workers will undoubtedly be pleased if his conciliatory approach manages to preserve jobs in Oshawa, it is unlikely that it will win any of the interest of the post.

JOHN DAILY

Tarnished opulence

Former bond traders endure criminal charges

Seated in a dingy Toronto courtroom last week, Paul Cohen miraculously wiped his forehead. For Cohen, the 50-year-old lawyer, president of the once-prominent investment brokerage firm Odeur Inc., there has been more than enough mud splashed about in the past four years. After a 30-year career in the company of some of the most conspicuous high rollers in the Canadian investment industry, Cohen ended up in court, along with his company, in late 1987 amid allegations of fraud, theft and elaborate coverups. Then, in December, 1988 the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) laid 283 charges of breaching securities laws against Cohen, Odeur chairman Bernard Louis Gaudet and vice-president Anthony Charette. But as their sentences still begin last week, Cohen was the only one of the three who chose to appear in court, sharing the corridors of justice with accused drug dealers, prostitutes and petty criminals. The case was quickly adjourned—just only to make way for a separate trial on 32 criminal charges of fraud, theft and possession of stolen property that Ontario Provincial Police laid against the trio in February.

Both trials are certain to prove lengthy, complex and costly. Said Thomas Lockwood, counsel for the OSC, which has already brought the three men for life from working in its provincial capital market: "It doesn't get any better than this for a securities lawyer—you get to lend money into the bank." For Cohen, however, it could not get much worse. He, like Charette and Gaudet, faces more than 70 years in prison if he is found guilty of all the charges against him. But while Cohen was able to amass \$235,000 last fall after his P.R. campaign, he says that he has lost \$1 million since he was charged. He says he might be charged with fraud, but he says he has lost \$1 million since he was charged. He says he might be charged with fraud, but he says he has lost \$1 million since he was charged.

At their height, those days were lovely indeed. The magnificence of Odeur's career was measured by the staff of agents at an industry where extensive spending is considered a noble tradition. With the contents of the frantic frantic Toronto offices were auctioned after it was put into receivership in January, 1988, they included a sitting of five English chairs for 25, 120 pieces of crystal glassware, chandeliers and leather furniture.

Court documents recorded as \$68,000 Christmas party—held just a week before Odeur's failure—at which senior executives were entertained at a country club by a band, a chef and a belly dancer.

At the close of almost every associate about the firm's flamboyant indulgence was Gaudet, the owner of 41 per cent of the firm's stock. Born as a son of a Prince Edward Island, Gaudet dropped out of school after Grade 10. But his financial acumen eventually carried him to the top of a profession that he joined in the mail room of Toronto brokerage firm Skanska Pty in the early 1920s. From that position, he



Gaudet's former mansion, complete with maid's quarters: opulence on a 2.5-acre lot

advanced to bond trader and worked for two other brokerage houses before joining Odeur in 1950. By then, Gaudet had already earned a reputation as a big game hunter, a big game hunter who was able to generate huge commissions on sales of hard-earned securities—a segment of the investment business where that is relatively rare. At Odeur, Gaudet said most of his earnings—he accumulated two million a year between 1960 and 1986—were accumulated in the firm that, by 1986 effectively gave him control of the 130-year-old investment dealer. By all his success, however, Gaudet's manner often manifested his more ardent religious. Roughly one senior investment dealer "The first time I met Louis, he was about to throw a chair through a window of a boy—he did hold a strange fascination for a lot of people."

Odeur's high-flying style led eventually to its ending. Evidence gathered by teams of accountants and regulators after the company's collapse showed that Odeur traders sold millions of dollars in speculative investments in the volatile bond market. The charges against Gaudet, Cohen and Charette allege that they set up complex accounting practices to cover up trading losses that may have reached as high as \$160 million in a single month. What is beyond question is that by the time the coup-pung failed in December, 1987, it owed its creditors \$65 million.

The collapse went shock waves through Bay Street's financial community. As the scope of Odeur's losses became clear, claims for compensation from the National Commodity Fund, established by the Investment Dealers Association to reimburse investors who suffer losses as a result of its members' misadventures or malfeasance, reached \$30 million.

Not all of Odeur's clients have found themselves as circumstances as constrained as Co-

University—the glorious myth that all Canadians are contented, which died with last week's budget—dates back to a wider regional political crisis that took place in Ontario during the early 1940s. By the summer of 1944, William Louis Mackenzie King, the Liberal prime minister who was a grand master at splitting on both sides of every political fence, had come to fear that the prospects of massive postwar unemployment would drive Canadian voters into the embrace of the CCF, as the socialists were known at the time. The answer was obvious, albeit the Liberal party's traditional managerial priorities to helping "the common man," as ordinary Canadians were then called.

As early as 1942, the government had passed an initial Unemployment Insurance Act and established a Committee on Post-War Reconstruction, whose members, Leonard Marsh, had studied at the London School of Economics and the William Beveridge, later the author of several controversial British reports that recommended universal welfare measures. Nothing much else happened to the Canadian version of these suggestions until the Gallup poll showed the CCF overtaking the CCF. Then, in the provincial election of Aug. 3, 1943, Ontario's CCF came within four seats of forming the government.

In response, Ottawa passed the Family Allowance Act, which established the first baby bonus, and Bill Mackintosh, an adviser to C. D. Howe, then minister of reconstruction, wrote a position paper that pledged the government to provide a basic social welfare net and to maintain "a high level of employment." It was all part of the blue-printed document, pioneered by the British economist John Maynard Keynes, that governments should play an intensive role in the economy. Approved by the federal cabinet, the Mackintosh study was published in the "White Paper on Employment and Income" in April 1945. Very President Franklin Roosevelt died, and, as a

BUSINESS WATCH



Time to kiss off the universality myth

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Universality—the glorious myth that all Canadians are contented, which died with last week's budget—dates back to a wider regional political crisis that took place in Ontario during the early 1940s.

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One millionaire with a young wife boasted that he was collecting family allowance and old age pension at the same time

result, secured almost no press coverage. For most of the last four Second World War decades, Canada's social net kept expanding—and its hallmark was universality, the notion that everyone was entitled to everything, so that those who really needed financial help would carry no stigma. It was a wonderful, free Canada—also, even if it was shoddy. One well-known Canadian millionaire, who married his son's youthful heiress but had a daughter by his first, used to boast that he was collecting family allowance and old age pension at the same time.

The first attack on universality came in 1986 when the Mulroney government attempted to remove total inflation indexing from old-age security payments, an effort defeated by an angry 63-year-old Ottawa promoter yelling, "Goodbye, Charlie Brown!" into the TV camera. The government later implemented clawbacks of family allowances through the tax system. Now, the allowances are to be merged with the renewable child tax credit into a new child tax benefit. The effect of the change will be to eliminate the allowance for high-income earners, while families with incomes below \$50,000 will receive sharply increased payments.

In today's survival economy, the Mulroney government had no choice but to dilute universality, and it will no doubt eventually eliminate it. In its place will be introduced, at some for the next election, a guaranteed annual income package that will roll all social benefit programs into one plan, designed to divert nearly all payments to those who need them. In today's economic climate, it's irresponsible to do anything else.

A much less impressive part of the first Don Manneville budget was his perpetuation of Michael Wilson's army-veteran clause, restricting lower defence spending, only to have the provision explode every spring, when the fiscal accountants are added up. According to the 1990 budget, this fiscal year's deficit was supposed to come in at \$24 billion instead, it added up to \$31.4 billion. The forecast for next year is a \$27.5-billion shortfall in 1990-1991, leaving a realistic allowance for the kind of spending that usually takes place in an election year.

Similarly, the former minister in predicting the creation of 500,000 jobs in 1990, the result of a 5 per cent expansion of the gross domestic product. It's a nice thought, but so are some notions where these new jobs will come from. Many economists calculate that nearly 70 per cent of the minister's figures last year the Free Trade Agreement was agreed will not materialize. Ask St. Catherine's.

It was presumably because Manneville believes his own rhetoric about the economy miraculously migrating itself that he did no little to give it a boost. Except for allowing Canadians to temporarily dig into their own savings for down payments on new homes (and the accompanying tax breaks), governments would have been equally useful; consumers received little fiscal comfort from this budget. The corporations didn't get much either. The reduction of taxes for the manufacturing and processing sectors amounts to only \$1.56 billion over the next five years.

Still, it was probably the most that the finance minister could do under the tight circumstances in which he finds himself. The battle with Canada's apparently insurmountable annual deficit is only half the story. Even Manneville's increased funding for social services, not public debt, cost \$420 billion, to increase to \$500 billion by March, 1997. Depending on the interest rates then prevalent, that obligation could easily continue to eat up one-third of the federal revenues, just for interest payments. Manneville's increased funding for social services, not public debt, cost \$420 billion, to increase to \$500 billion by March, 1997. Depending on the interest rates then prevalent, that obligation could easily continue to eat up one-third of the federal revenues, just for interest payments.

The small first step to eliminate universality was overdue and necessary. This is no time to be sending cheques from the federal treasury to those who don't need them.

DEBORAH McNEIL

Beauty And The Breast

Before the recent breast implants in 1988, recalls Linda Wilson, her doctor offered words of reassurance: "My word that they would reduce the risk of breast cancer and that I would never have a problem" and the 46-year-old Vancouver office manager looked Wilson and her first set of implants, which were encased in a polyurethane foam shell, began to disintegrate within weeks and had to be removed. Eventually, she received silicone-gel implants—but not before undergoing eight operations and enduring five prolonged stays in hospital recovering from infections and other complications. In 1989, Wilson added, she had two doctors who had operated on her, but a U.S. Supreme Court judge rejected her claims after a nine-day trial. Said Wilson: "All of this has left my breasts extremely disfigured and just a mess."

In 1989, after several years spent rearing her family, Phyllis Rittenhouse decided to return to work. She was 60 years old and, living in the north, she did not like what she saw. "I said, 'Here it, Phyllis, you can see some help,'" recalled Rittenhouse, owner of a Toronto business that provides post-operative care for mastectomy patients. "I had beautiful dove children and my breasts were starting to droop." Rittenhouse had an implant operation that, she says, rejuvenated her sagging bosom and boosted her self-esteem. Three years ago, at 66, she had the implants removed in order to have another operation aimed at fixing her breasts. She says that the original implants had never caused her any pain or discomfort, and that they were in perfect alignment after 35 years in her body. Said Rittenhouse: "I never regretted my operation for a minute."

When Rittenhouse was among the more than one million North American women who have had synthetic devices implanted in their breasts. They also stand at opposite ends of a debate now raging among scientists, doctors and government regulators over the safety of the implants. Dozens of American women, and a handful of Canadian recipients, are now suing Michigan-based Dow Corning Corp., a leading manufacturer of silicone-gel implants, on the grounds that they suffered health problems or personal injury due to the device. In early January, the Canadian

THOUSANDS OF CANADIAN WOMEN HAVE IMPLANTS, AND MANY NOW FEAR THE EFFECTS

and American governments imposed temporary, voluntary moratoriums on the use of silicone implants, and both will shortly be out of April whether or not the ban is made permanent. Meanwhile, most plastic surgeons



Rittenhouse: increasing her self-esteem

continue to defend the benefits of implants. "I've done more than 500 of these operations over the past 20 years," says Toronto physician John Taylor, non-president of the Canadian Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, "and I believe this is a good operation."

Surgeons have been performing breast implant procedures for almost 30 years, and during that time an estimated 150,000 Canadians would have received the devices. 50 per cent of them the cosmetic reasons. Many patients, doctors say, come to them complaining that their small breasts are ruining their self-esteem; some, they say, have spent their entire adult lives avoiding beaches (p. 44). In major entertainment centers like Hollywood and Las Vegas—arguably the two capitals of North America's breast-obsessed society—implants and other forms of cosmetic surgery have become commonplace—and often vital to career advancement. Said Beverly Hills, Calif., surgeon George Smith: "One of the exciting things about plastic surgery in Los Angeles is that it is becoming an integral part of society, just like going to the dentist or the barber."

Doubts: The debate over the safety of silicone-gel implants flared last December when officials with the U.S. Federal Court in San Francisco disclosed information listing internal corporate documents from Dow Corning. The documents, which had been submitted to the court while the firm was fighting a lawsuit, revealed that some Dow Corning employees had doubts about corporate studies purporting to show that silicone-gel implants were safe (page 42). Based on that information, Dr. David Kessler, commissioner of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, issued a moratorium on silicone-gel implants on Jan. 6. Kessler also convened a 10-member advisory panel, which heard evidence from dozens of experts in Washington from Feb. 14 to 21. The panel supported the FDA's position, suggesting that the implants be used only on women requiring reconstructive surgery, or in tightly controlled clinical trials.

Since then, the FDA has received thousands of calls and letters from nervous implant recipients. In Mel-

ville—and lupus erythematosus, which leads to rashes and chronic pain in the joints.

Despite the outcries, some women are still determined to have breast implants, and there are doctors willing to accommodate them. "I don't like implants, but I like to see my patients happy," said Elizabeth Hall-Parley, a Rock, Alta., plastic surgeon. "And I am not concerned with cancer and autoimmune reactions." Hall-Parley said that silicone is an inert substance that does not react with human tissue. She also noted that it is a component of numerous other medical devices, such as pacemakers, that can be placed permanently in a person's body. She added: "If silicone were so

evil or under the arrest, Taylor said that most patients have a clear idea how big they want to be, and most can be accommodated. But in some cases, a woman's skin is abnormally tight which prevents her from achieving her preferred breast size through its uplift.

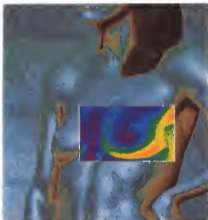
Mary Smith, a 36-year-old Mississauga, Ont., woman, ignored the safety controversy and went ahead with an implant operation last week. Smith, who has an eight-year-old daughter and works in an aircraft factory, said that she has been unhappy with her small breasts for years—and even more so since they began to stretch after she gave birth and had three miscarriages. She added that for her, the benefits of a fuller bosom outweighed any potential risks. "I wanted to feel better about myself," said Smith. "I wore big, loose clothing to hide the way I looked. I could go shopping and try on 16 or 17 sizes and would still nothing because they didn't fit right."

But other women say that implants have left them miserable. Norma LaFliche, a 58-year-old Montrealer, however, said that she removed her first set of implants in 1981 after having mastectomy-type scars from her breasts. LaFliche said that within five months of the operation, she was experiencing excruciating pain and had to have the implants removed. She had two more pairs implanted and removed, the last, and is now on her fourth set. She is scheduled to have them taken out within the next couple of weeks and will not have another set implanted. Said LaFliche: "It's been some operations in 34 years. I could have worked during those years but I was always at the doctor's, always at the hospital, always in pain, always on pills, always tired."

Lawsuits: A handful of disgruntled Canadian implant recipients have begun to sue their doctors and the manufacturers for damages. Vancouver lawyer Mark Stevie, who represented Wilson in her 1989 trial, said that he is preparing these lawsuits against New York City-based Breast Implant Society, which manufactured polyurethane-coated Molex implants through a subsidiary company called Surgitek. He is also representing four other women who are suing Dow Corning for damages allegedly caused by ruptured implants.

So far, only one Canadian woman has successfully sued an implant manufacturer. In May, 1990, a B.C. Supreme Court justice in Vancouver awarded Susan Hollis, who was 30 at the time, \$85,000 for pain, suffering and lost wages caused by a ruptured Dow Corning implant. Derek Wilson, a Vancouver lawyer who represented Dow Corning, said that the device was implanted in October, 1983, at Kelowna General Hospital and removed 58 months later after the woman complained of breast pain. Hollis said that the case is still before the courts because Dow Corning has appealed the decision.

American doctors and judges, meanwhile, have made multi-million-dollar damage awards to three implant recipients over the past year, although manufacturers are now appointing each decision. In December, 1991, a federal district court jury in San Francisco granted 48-



February, the agency now set up a toll-free helpline to handle inquiries. And many women now maintain that a wide variety of ailments are directly or indirectly linked to implants.

One of the most common conditions is a hardening of the breasts as the body forces scar tissue around the implant to protect itself from a foreign object. Symptoms can rupture, which allows the silicone gel to begin migrating throughout the body, often in some doctors and recipients also claimed that the implants may cause cancers and a variety of autoimmune diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis, scleroderma—a tightening and hardening of the

body, there would be an epidemic of autoimmune diseases in response."

An implant operation costs from \$3,900 to \$5,000 in Canada and, when performed for cosmetic reasons, is not covered by provincial health-care plans. According to most surgeons, it is a fairly simple procedure, Taylor said that patients are usually given a sedative to help them relax before receiving a general anesthetic. The operation takes about two hours, and most patients are sent home several hours after the surgery is finished. Incisions for inserting the implants can be made to the scar tissue beneath the breast, at the areola of the

MOST PATIENTS HAVE A CLEAR IDEA HOW BIG THEY WANT TO BE—AND WHY

year-old Marlene Ripstein of nearby Simco County \$5.6 million in damages, the largest of the three awards. The jury ruled that the woman developed connective-tissue disease when one of her Dow Corning implants ruptured. Also, the jury found that the company had misrepresented its studies, which purported to demonstrate the safety of the device. The three awards, combined with the \$6.5 million from another lawsuit, have unleashed a flood of American lawsuits against the manufacturers, some lawyers pay the number to \$100, but they also acknowledge that nobody has an exact count.

Surgery Despite those developments, most plastic surgeons who perform the operations insist on the safety of implants. Norman Galt, a Louisville, Ky., surgeon and president of the Chicago-based American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons, said that the society's figures show that only one per cent of silicone-gel implants rupture. And less than 18 per cent of implant patients he studied, experts on hardness of the breasts. Last year, the society based an independent research fund to conduct a nationwide survey of implant ruptures. According to the survey, of the 590 women surveyed—who had breast with implants for an average of eight years—83 per cent were satisfied customers.

Nicole Goodwin, a Beverly Hills plastic surgeon, said that he has performed the procedure between 400 and 500 times over the past decade, and only about 10 per cent of his breast-implant complications requiring secondary surgery. Goodwin said that he has become so confident about the safety and effectiveness of

implant surgery that he performed the operation on his own wife, Judy, a flight attendant in 1984. "It's not a practice ploy to make my own payments," said Goodwin. "I want to make a positive impact on people's lives."



Goodwin

Milnor: operations, infections and complications

Toronto surgeon Taylor said that the long-term success of the procedure depends on careful screening of potential patients. As Taylor explains it, he tries to ensure that each patient is emotionally and psychologically sta-

ble. He also said that he will not accept a patient who wants to opt for a procedure as a husband or boyfriend. Taylor claimed that of his more than 500 implant patients over the past two decades, 30 to 35 per cent have later complained that their breasts were too firm.

Said for those women who remain apprehensive about artificial implants, there is a far more complex method of reconstructing or enhancing breasts that involves transplanting abdominal muscle and fat to the breast cavity. Most patients spend about five days in hospital, according to Michael Dwyer, an Elmhurst, Ont., surgeon, and that he has used the procedure on more than 800 women since 1975. About two-thirds of them, he said, are having reconstruction following mastectomies, the others who simply want larger breasts, must cover the \$7,000 to \$10,000 cost themselves.

Although many plastic surgeons argue that artificial breast implants, devices are durable and reliable, some scientists contend that they have discovered serious structural weaknesses. Pierre Blais, a physical chemist who worked for 33 years as a senior scientific adviser with Health and Welfare Canada, resigned in December, 1989, after a dispute over departmental approval of

Surgisil's Milnor implant. According to Blais, some women of the size was made of substandard-quality materials similar to upholstery foam—and he frequently discovered that it had been implanted. The device was one of

about 30 such and similar, he argued. He even felt the implanted breasts of a friend who used the same physician. "I just wanted to make sure," she said, "and the finding was very serious."

King said that she has sympathy for women who have had problems with their "Surgisil" or "Milnor" implants. "I'm sure they've had a bad experience, a bad doctor, or their body rejected it," But King argues that the media have blown the silicone controversy out of proportion. "I think that's not the lot of people," she added. "A lot of people are thinking out really bad, and I think in the end it's going to turn out that they are very happy." For her part, King said that she is not concerned. "I really decided it out thoroughly," she said. "I'm not really worried." Added King: "I can't imagine being without them now—they feel like they're mine, they are a part of my body."

With any operation, King conceded, "you're taking a risk." And she said that she did a lot of research before adopting the procedure, asking her prospective surgeon's patients

SURGICAL OPTIONS

ENTIRETY OF, OR PARTIAL INCISIONS begin above the ear, extending down behind the earlobe and following along the hair of the scalp. Surgeons then lift and remove excess skin from the face, neck and temple. That is usually combined with a submammary incision or liposuction to remove excess fat under the skin. Draining and swelling take weeks to subside. Time of operation, three to five hours. Cost, \$5,000 to \$8,000.

PLUG GRAFT TO REPLACE HAIR LOSS Surgeons now place sections of scalp containing hair or skin follicles each—often hair-bearing areas in bald sections of the scalp. Time about two hours per operation, several operations may be needed, depending on the degree of loss. Cost, \$25 to \$35 per plug, or about \$5,000 to \$10,000 for a full level of hair. Another alternative is scalp flap: large sections of hair-bearing scalp are loosened and rotated from the sides or back of the head to bald areas. Scars and bruising last for about 30 days. Time one to two hours. Cost, \$3,500 to \$5,000.

ALPHERAPLASTY, OR TISSUE SURGERY Surgeons make incisions in natural skin folds around the eyes. They lift and tighten the skin while removing fatty tissue and excess skin—the so-called bagginess. Draining and swelling subside within three weeks. Time one to two hours. Cost, \$2,000 to \$2,500 for upper or lower lids, \$2,000 to \$3,000 for both.

STITCHES AND FOREHEAD LIFT An incision is made below the hairline. Surgeons then tighten and remove excess skin. For eyebrow lifts, the scars can be hidden in forehead wrinkles. Time: two hours. Cost, \$2,000 to \$3,000.

WINGPLASTY—A NOSE JOB Incisions are made just inside the side of the nostrils to separate web tissue from the cartilage and bone. The hump or extra nose is removed and the remainder is reshaped. Short-term side effects include bruising and swelling. Time: one to two hours. Cost, \$2,500 to \$4,000.

OTOPLASTY, OR EAR SURGERY Designed to put back protruding ears, changes their shape. Surgeons make incisions along the back of the ear to separate the cartilage, which can be removed and repositioned. Swelling and bruising subside within two weeks. Time: about two hours. Cost, \$1,500 to \$3,000 for patients over 16; many health plans will cover otoplasty for those under 16.

COLLAGEN OR FAT INJECTIONS FOR SCARS, WRINKLES OR FILLER LIPS Injections of collagen, a natural protein substance that already exists in skin tissue, can fill out wrinkles or lips temporarily.

If it previously takes about an month for the collagen to be absorbed into the skin. In place of collagen, surgeons may inject fat from other parts of the body. Time, 15 minutes. Cost, \$150 to \$1,000.

STEREO INJECTIONS FOR SCARS The injections stretch and stretch scars, helping them to blend with surrounding skin. Surgeons can also use tiny Mesolase skin suits, masks and caps. Time required for the steroid injections, five minutes. Cost, \$25 to \$200 per session, most health plans cover the procedure if the lesion was caused by melanoma or other disease.

DERMABRASION FOR OLD WRINKLES OR ACNE SCARS Skin is smoothed with a motor-driven rotary instrument. Afterward, the face is red and swollen, and a skin-colored film covers the face. Patients must avoid exposure to the sun for several months. Time, 30 minutes to one hour. Cost, \$500 to \$1,500; health plans may cover dermabrasion if recommended by a doctor. Another method is chemical peeling with acid, which causes intense redness that fades, leaving young-looking skin. Time, 30 minutes. Cost, \$1,000 to \$2,500.

HYDROPLASTY, OR GUM AUGMENTATION Surgeons make a small incision in the gum or under the chin. They can then insert a mild silicone implant in front of the chinbone and beneath the skin, to reduce the chin, they can remove excess fat tissue. Time: two hours. Cost, \$1,500 to \$3,000.

BREAST AUGMENTATION Surgeons make incisions under the breast and insert implants containing silicone gel or saline. Time: two hours. Cost, \$3,000 to \$5,000.

BREAST REDUCTION Incisions are made around the nipple and below the breast, making the removal of excess tissue and skin. The nipple is repositioned to maintain a normal appearance. Time: three to four hours. Cost, \$3,000 to \$5,000, although most health plans cover the procedure if large breasts cause back or shoulder pain.

MASTOPLASTY, OR BREAST LIFT The skin is lifted and tightened to correct sagging from aging, while the areola is reshaped to maintain a normal appearance. This procedure is often combined with augmentation to restore shape and firmness. Time: two hours. Cost, \$2,000 to \$3,000.

ABDOMINOPLASTY, OR TUMMY TUCK, FOR STRETCH MARKS OR SAGGING SKIN An incision is made just above the pubic area and excess skin is pulled, tightened and removed. The result is permanent. Time: two hours. Cost, \$2,000 to \$5,000.

LIPOSUCTION TO REMOVE FAT Surgeons make an incision below the beltline, abdomen, thigh or other fatty area. They insert a thin tube into the area, then scrape and vacuum out excess material. Time, one to three hours. Cost, \$3,000 to \$5,000.



'MORE LIKE A WOMAN'

Wearing blue jeans and a cowboy-style collar shirt, she grows hair and jacks. Heidi King (middle) and her sister, Marlene Ripstein, are in southwestern Ontario, the 35-year-old King has worked as a fashion model for eight years, travelling from Toronto to Miami, Chicago and New York City to appear in magazines, on television and in commercials. Throughout most of her career, she was self-satisfied. "I was less than a size 6," said King, "and I was back in shape again." But then, in 1984, she felt a lump. "That did not bother her much, she said, although she was not asked to model anymore. But she said that it did affect her self-image. "I was 36 and I thought, 'I'm never going to get them. They're never going to come.' And, eight, two years ago she had a plastic surgeon in Miami suggest her friend with a

pair of silicone gel breast implants for \$25,000. Now, she says, she wears a size 34 D, she gets high-pitched work modeling lingerie and she feels much better about her body. "I guess if you look at all the girls modeling, yeah, it's important to have breasts," she said. "But I didn't really do it for any career—I did it come for me."

King said that she felt some discomfort after the surgery. "You're not supposed to do any jumping or have sex for your first week or two," she added. "You can't do any exercise, you can't be on your side" but she said that it was worthwhile. "You have to know you really want them," said King. "But if you don't, but, like friends and family, she said, supported her decision. "It has been very positive for me."

King added, "Like when you were a short sort or a puny kid, you feel that you were a lot of success—I feel much more like a woman."

With any operation, King conceded, "you're taking a risk." And she said that she did a lot of research before adopting the procedure, asking her prospective surgeon's patients

the same question: breast implants during the late 1980s because it was heavily promoted by the manufacturers. But the company reluctantly withdrew the product from the market last April after an FDA study showing that the shell could break down and the body's immune system could break down the shell. The device is now an enormous number of people.

Blais concludes that silicone-gel implants are better than the Milnor, but he insists that there are still problems. He said that the shells frequently contain defects and that the gel can seep through the walls even if there are no cracks or ruptures. Robert Galt, senior director of the Quebec Bio-Materials Institute

in Quebec City, has drawn similar conclusions after examining 380 silicone-gel implants that were removed from women. Particles found in cells are capable of penetrating the shell of an implant, he said, and a minute amount of silicone gel can escape. Concluded Galt: "Usually after several years in a woman's body, an implant is very much changed because of the penetration of the particles."

In order to resolve the controversy over the safety of breast implants, the federal health department has appointed a four-member independent advisory committee. Corinne Baines, a University of Toronto epidemiologist and head of the committee, acknowledges that she

and her three colleagues are faced with a complex and perhaps daunting job. She said that many Canadian women who have had implants are now plagued by doubts. But for women who still want the operation, the controversy as the use of silicone-gel devices has created anger and exasperation. At a time when good looks and good health are not necessarily synonymous, it may take more than a federal inquiry to calm the raging medical mainstream over beauty and the breast.

BY ARNOLD JENNIS with THERESA FITZGERALD in Montreal; JAMES D'AMICO in Toronto and JANE MORSE in Calgary



ANATOMY OF A NIGHTMARE

DOW CORNING FIGHTS A PUBLIC OUTCRY

K with McKenken seems like a terrible survivor. A scientist and inventor, McKenken spends his speech with hyperbole as "gen" and "babe" and claims that one of the principal accomplishments of his 38-year career at Dow Chemical Co. (not here to "bask in obscurity.") No more. Last month, McKenken was plucked from the executive ranks in Dow Chemical and installed as the troubleshooting senior chief executive of Dow Corning Corp., one of the world's largest manufacturers of silicone-gel breast implants. Although the corporate strife plays him squarely at the center of the latter debate over implants, McKenken already appears to have defused some of the fury of the attack. On the same day that his appointment was announced, he expressed the public release of sensitive Dow Corning documents dealing with the safety of the devices. Then, he floated a proposal to pay for the removal of implants for low-income women. And while McKenken defends the past

efforts of the Midland, Mich.-based company to ensure the safety of the implants, he is also the first top executive to acknowledge that it made mistakes. Declared McKenken: "Dow Corning must say, 'Gee, we didn't do everything perfect, and if we were able to do it over, we would do it differently.'"

Bumping That conciliatory tone is a sharp reversal for Dow Corning, which has been widely criticized for lying in-law doctors for thousands of women who have reported serious health problems with its product. Under former chief executive officer Lawrence Reed, the company—one of four U.S. breast-implant makers—repeatedly assured such women and their doctors that the implants were safe. And until McKenken's appointment on Feb. 10, the company kept guard over thousands of internal memos that suggest that some of Dow Corning's own employees have long been dissatisfied with the scientific data on implants. But the damaging release of some of those documents

Silicone-gel breast implants: thousands of women reported problems

from a San Francisco court in December—followed in January by a surprise U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) moratorium on the sale of implants—has turned the controversy into a public-relations nightmare for Dow Corning. "Until the appointment of Ralph McKenken, that was a textbook case of crisis management," says McKenken's crisis-management consultant, Gerald Meyers. "The company had been playing a hardball defense all this time, and that is a terrible formula for failure."

But even McKenken's reputation as a diplomat may not be enough to silence the storm over Dow Corning, a just sentence between Dow Chemical of Midland and Corning Inc., a New York state manufacturer of glass, chemicals and fiber optics. For many angry women, Dow Corning's reluctance to tell what it knows—and does not know—about the devices is almost as painful as the health problems such as lupus and arthritis, that they say their implants have caused. Last December, a federal district court, jury in San Francisco awarded \$5.6 million to a California woman who claimed that she suffered an autoimmune disease because of implants. In a showing blow to the company, the jury also found that Dow Corning acted with fraud, malice and oppression, because of its failure to disclose information about the implants' hazards. Company executives reacted to the ruling with outrage and blamed the finding on "miscommunication" media reports.

But the real damage was still to come. Soon afterward, hundreds of pages of internal Dow

Corning documents used in the case were released, despite the company's efforts to prevent their general publication with a secrecy order. In the past, Dow Corning has used similar tactics to prevent the disclosure of sensitive documents used in other breast-implant cases. Reports about the contents of the San Francisco documents shocked many women, who learned that some Dow Corning employees suspected as early as 1971 that it lacked sufficient scientific data to guarantee the safety of the implants. In one 1983 memo, lab technician William Foley stated: "Only internal data exists to substantiate the long-term safety of these gels for human implant applications." In 1985, Foley wrote that unless the company did more testing, "I think we have extensive personal and corporate liability exposure."

Hotline Meanwhile, Dow Corning stepped up its ad campaign that it had started in the fall of 1984. In newspaper ads across the country, it urged women with questions about implants to call a company hotline. The ads said that instead of "half-truths," callers would receive information based on "20 years of solid scientific research." The salesmen were called; they were told that the implants were "100 per cent safe." Shortly afterwards, the firm warned Dow Corning that some of the information on its hotline was "false or based on a confusing or misleading context." Firm staff members are now running their own information hotline.

In fact, the federal agency has been raising its pitch ever since the resolution of the San Francisco lawsuit. In November, the FDA decided to permit implants to remain on the market,



McKenken: 'we didn't do everything perfect'

largely because it found that there was insufficient scientific evidence linking the devices to health problems. But after receiving the San Francisco documents, the agency demanded more information from Dow Corning. On Jan. 6, it issued an unexpected moratorium on the use of implants. By Feb. 20, its risk advisory panel had recommended that use of the implants be restricted to clinical studies and patients requiring breast reconstruction. How-

ever, the panel stopped short of concluding that there is a link between leaks from implants and health problems such as autoimmune disease. More research is needed before such a conclusion can be made, the panel said. The FDA stated that it will issue a final decision before the end of April.

Reputation But Dow Corning will likely be fighting the issue for years to come. At least three class actions have already been launched in the United States, as well as lawsuits of other suits by individuals. But the biggest loss may be the decline of Dow Corning's reputation as the master of consumers. "Dow Corning has actively covered that stuff up," said Dr. Sidney Wolfe, director of the Public Citizen Health Research Group in Washington. "They are reckless and they have a reckless attitude about women."

If McKenken does succeed in defusing the mandatory publicity surrounding implants, it will be an accomplishment that cements a long career of peacekeeping. At 58, he is one of Dow's elder statesmen, a scientist with a reputation for mediation. In the early 1950s, he helped steer Dow Chemical out of similar crises over the use of chemical dyes and the herbicide 2,4,5-T, also known as

Agent Orange. Said McKenken: "If there is a silver lining to this, it's here's that everybody at Dow Corning will have a different perception of how important the outside world is." For women who claim that their breast implants have caused serious health problems, the issue is why the company did not learn that lesson a long time ago.

PATRICIA CRISHOLM

'A TERRIFYING TIME IN LIFE'

Shortly after January Tensin, got her silicone-gel breast implants in 1971, she says that her problems began. She started to feel a pain in her left breast. Later, she suffered from chronic aches and pains, autoimmune-type dizziness and muscle deterioration in her left leg. In 1984, she was diagnosed with arthritis in the chest. But Tensin, now 36 and living in Mission, B.C., said that she was unaware of any possible connection between her medical problems and her implants, made by Hyper-Schleier Corp. of California, which discontinued the product in 1984. "My doctor described me as a medical curiosity," she said. "And when they couldn't find the problem in my body, they treated me for mental problems." It was not until last year, when she saw a TV appearance by Linda Wilson,

founder of the I Know Implant Information Association in British Columbia, that she first made the connection. With that, said Tensin, "the brain is most terrifying time in my life."

Tensin had a mammogram, which showed that the shells of her implants had leaked. A month later, in June, 1991, she had the implants removed. Then, she traveled to Pasadena, Calif., where Steven Wessner, a physician who has been studying the effects of silicone, diagnosed Tensin with human silicon disease, that is silicone-related contamination. It was not a welcome diagnosis. "But my life was stabilized," she said. "I had definitely been taken off the hypochondria list." Tensin returned to have another breast pain, she said, and four weeks ago she underwent a double mastectomy. Meanwhile, her implants were sent to Puerto Rico, who operates a laboratory in Olney that deals with the failure of medical products. Susan Blum said that a significant amount of the silicone had seeped out of the implant sacs, which had several large openings and many small holes. "Now," said Tensin, "we have to

find out where the silicone has migrated to in my body."

Tensin said that she still suffers some muscle deterioration in her left leg, and has some shrinkage in her hips and one shoulder. A certified nurse, she does not feel that she has become as flexible as she was in 1971. Tensin added that she does not hate the doctors who treated her over the years. "They were as much as we were," she said. "It's the manufacturers I don't know how they can live with themselves. I think they owe us a monetary apology."

Tensin said that she intends to work with women who have had similar problems. But she does not advocate taking all implants off the market. She said that in 1978, "we were told that they were forever, that we never had to worry." Now, she said, "I think as long as women know of the risks, and that the implants may not last, then it's their prerogative to get them."

ANDRENE WEBB in Pasadena

COVER IS BIGGER BETTER?

NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY IS BREAST-OBSESSED

In a special night at the Portland Lending strip club in downtown Dartmouth, N.S. inside the beer-like room, men play pool with off-duty dancers while singers grope to rock music on a low stage backed by mirrors and colorful wall lights. But the bar is more crowded than usual in anticipation of the evening's star attraction, a woman advertised as "Miss Nude Soule's Professor 741 '88." The regulars Scott Hildes and Ed Howell, both 27, sit at a table to the side of the stage and talk about what distinguishes Miss Nude Soule from the other dancers. "Most of the local strippers here are small," said Howell, referring to the dancers' breasts. "She's a lot bigger. You never see the most people here on a normal night." Added Hildes, summing up the ethos of a breast-obsessed society: "If you see two girls go up on the stage—one fat and one thin—who are you going to look at?"

Sensuality. Now more than ever, breasts—particularly large ones—are prominent not only in the adult-entertainment industry. They are used to sell everything from beer and chewing gum to clothes and cars. They have become so central to the clothing designer's craft that pictures in women's fashion magazines are sometimes hard to differentiate from those in sexified men's magazines. In the popular perception at least, breasts have become increasingly divorced from motherhood and, instead, are associated entirely with sensuality, youthfulness, femininity and self-confidence. North American culture has embraced a new ideal, one very much like the ubiquitous Barbie doll—a flat stomach, slim legs and a big bust. Louise Whitby, 42, a Vancouver writer and actor who had silicone implants following a mastectomy, modeled strong, a *Woman* magazine editor on television, says that women should not feel self-conscious about being small-breasted. "That's so ridiculous," she declared. "It's these same editors who are responsible for filling the covers of magazines with giant busty women."

Breasts have nearly always been an integral part of beauty ideals. And to the point, as now, many women look steps to accentuate their attributes—often at great personal expense. In the 19th century, a girl might start a career called high-legging at the time she was 8 and could still be wearing the binding corsets up to the seventh month of pregnancy. The result, according to Denise Austin, a social historian at Ontario's Guelph University, was that often an adult woman was unable to breathe up without a corset because the muscles in the center of the body had atrophied. With the increased



popularity of high heeled shoes in the 1950s, women's problems shifted to painful leg and lower-back muscles. But the shoe persisted—and still does—in both uses by making the legs look longer and slimmer and by changing a woman's posture so that both the breasts and the buttocks were recontoured. While the voluptuous look of American actresses Marilyn Monroe and Jane Fonda proved very briefly in the 1960s to the height

figure of British model Twiggy, the full figure ideal has returned with a vengeance—although the fad has been limited to the last few. Many models have begun augmentation to conform to that ideal. Actress Mimi Rogers, figure of British model Twiggy, the full figure ideal has returned with a vengeance—although the fad has been limited to the last few. Many models have begun augmentation to conform to that ideal. Actress Mimi Rogers,

changed after childbirth. Others, like Joanne, a 43-year-old Montreal, N.B., woman who asked not to be fully identified, put worn their clothes to fit properly. Before she got implants 11 years ago, Joanne says, "all I had was sagging"—a problem who she dropped. "When you're going to lay a \$600 dress and it's a perfect fit except for the breasts, that's where you feel contradicted with it—this dress would be perfect if I had normal breasts."

But there are also more complicated factors behind the quest for bigger breasts. Meredith Turf, 47, runs a support group in Montreal called La Rhéa. Jeune Suffragette Network for women who have had implants. She maintains—based on her own experience with implants and those of the more than 200 women in the group—that one of the main factors in low self-esteem. "Rhéa has told me they do it for their husbands, for their boyfriends," she said. "You hear on the TV and your husband says, 'Oh, look at the shape on her.' So what do I do? That can help to restore a woman's sense of self worth." "Women are conditioned to believe that you have to be sexually loved, be in a relationship," said Greta Holman, a nurse, part chair of women's studies at the University of Ottawa and Carleton University. "I think that most people's notions of beauty are created by the media. And beauty in women is associated with getting love."

Jeune. Finally, experts acknowledge the pervasive influence of popular culture. "Society constructs our image of what is beautiful, as desirable, and everyone, at their heart of hearts, tries to live up to it," said Dr. Curry, a plastic surgeon at Montreal. "And if you don't, it's a problem." Added Dr. Robert, a Calgary plastic surgeon, "The culture has put a value on the size of one's shape. It's a physical compulsion to have a nice woman with large breasts, but that particular shape has become, from the movies and advertising, the desirable one."

Rosalee D'Aroux, a 38-year-old Toronto model, deliberated for years about whether to get implants. Said D'Aroux: "When I was younger, I was fat-chested and I thought, 'Wouldn't it be nice to have breasts, to have a chest?'" She had already decided to have her



Breast built: a tough act to follow

breasts augmented in 1986, when she was picked to appear on the TV show *Star Search*. She recalls thinking, "All these girls in videos have a chest and I don't"—and she afterwards gave the operation in advance of her appearance in "A New World About Breasts," a 1972 article for *Esquire* magazine. Now

Ephron was about the anguish of growing up fat-chested. Now, 20 years later, the 50-year-old Ephron, a novelist and movie director, says that women may have become even more obsessed with breast size. "Women all over the world wish they had bigger breasts—except those who have bigger breasts who wish they had smaller ones," Ephron told Marlowe. "I have really beautiful women who are satisfied with the size of her breasts."

Pressure. At the same time, mass culture generally discourages women from going past 30 into middle age. "Our society has not had a very valued place for older women," said Greta Holman, a psychiatrist and director of the women's mental health program at the Toronto Hospital. "Older men can be wise; they can be senior executives, they can have grey hair and wrinkles and still be desired. But women's options seem to narrow as they get older." And the pressure to remain young-looking is so crushing, even at the teenage age of the population grows. "There's even more the sense that as you age, you shouldn't age," added Holman. "We live in an era where it's almost, 'You're never too old to be beautiful.' And the idea, but still progress. The image is, you really don't change."

Eventually, says Montreal's Curry, aging men and women may stop searching for the fountain of youth and accept a more relaxed model of beauty. In a perfect world, of course, even such relaxation products would be unnecessary: people would simply value themselves for who they are, not for what shape they are. But until society broadens its definition of female beauty beyond her size, the bigger-bust factor often will remain a plastic surgeon's dream.

NORA UNDERWOOD met JOANNE DUMONT in Guelph and MARY MEMETT and SARAFIN JAMARIF in Toronto

MORE THAN JUST SEX APPEAL

In February, 1991, after discovering cancer cells in Carolyn Hareld's upper arm, a surgeon removed both of her breasts. A 46-year-old Toronto advertising executive, Hareld said that she left the hospital with a positive overall outlook. But when the surgeons were moved around weeks later, she said, "I was devastated. I didn't think it was going to look as bad as it looked." Still, said Hareld, she decided not to go for any kind of reconstruction. "I decided that it really wasn't that important to me," she said. "Intestinally, I just said, 'This is ridiculous. Breasts are not a part of the body and I'm not going to let it affect my life.'"

But over the summer, as Hareld and her husband spent their weekends on the beach on their boat in Georgian Bay, she

found herself growing increasingly depressed. "I was seeing other women with breasts and changes," she said. "I used to wear very low dresses and I had large breasts, and I stopped dressing—and I missed it," she lamented. Hareld said, "I started to realize I was making a big decision, a big decision, and one day I decided to get it done. I think that's what I've been saying that I want to do."

Like many mastectomy patients, Hareld decided to undergo reconstruction. But by the time she reached that decision, reports about the possible dangers of silicone gel were circulating widely. When she started discussing the issue with friends, and Hareld said, "They were going, 'Oh, my God, not the implants.'" After researching her various options and discussing them with her physician, she decided against that procedure. Instead, she contacted a Toronto-area doctor who reconstructs breasts from a woman's own body fat—and she has since made an appointment for surgery in August. "It's nice," she said. "They open your chest and cut through your muscles—

they have to collect your fat and take the fat out and reconstruct breasts. I just decided that I'm looking forward to having breasts again."

Hareld, her husband of 23 years, has supported her decision to have the surgery. He has also told her that "the mastectomy did not cut out the fat in his chest, so he had decided to have it." "I don't know how you can affect him," she said. "But maybe I don't. Maybe it's the way I'm perceiving it." Reflecting on her original decision to avoid breast reconstruction, Hareld said, "I think it was dumb, where you're saying, 'It's just a small thing and I'm aware of it.' She continued, "I've always been sort of brainwashed that only very vain women do that, so I had to get over that mental block. It took me the whole summer to adjust to myself that I'm not very happy with the way I look and that's nothing wrong with having plastic surgery."

MARY MEMETT

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so it won't cost you time to stop on one.



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A sports rarity: good cooking, good cause

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Once it was possible to read the sports pages and come away with a smile. There would be a funny line from Casey Stengel ("All right, boys, line up alphabetically by height") or Yogi Berra ("Nobody goes there anymore, it's too crowded"), but now they're routinely depressing (no amount of money seems enough for some players; Mike Tyson is guilty of rape).

Well, not exclusively. Sometimes enough sunlight brightens sport's tiny world to indicate that not all the young millionaires are following in self-interest. There is this restaurant called Alice Fazzoli's Broken Crookneck Saloon in the hulkish shadow of SkyDome in Toronto's downtown, and on a recent Sunday night in February it was brimming with guests at a dinner and auction organized, planned, organized and mirrored on a volunteer basis by the wives of Toronto Maple Leaf players and by the players themselves. The purpose was to raise money for a women's hostel called Nellie's, named for Nellie McClung, the Prime Minister for women's rights. And because of the way the players and the women in their lives handled the project, a check for \$42,000 was produced for Nellie's.

Nellie's is not your average fast-food restaurant, such as the more popular Canadian Caesar Saloon or the Heart and Stroke Foundation. Instead, Nellie's is a relatively obscure haven for battered women and battered men, open around the clock and around the calendar. It shelters 30 women and children a night and welcomes more than 300 different women every month. The players' wives agreed that this was to be their project.

The fundraising began not long after Cliff and Becca Fletcher moved to Toronto from Calgary. Cliff had run the Flames since their inception in Atlanta in 1972, and had overseen the team's cross-country switch to Calgary in 1988. Last summer he became the Maple Leaf president and general manager at Toronto, but he came: Becca arranged a luncheon to acquaint the wives of Maple Leaf players with

The players, many with incomes far beyond their dreams, wrapped themselves in aprons and served a five-course dinner

one another, the first time anything of this nature had occurred in Toronto. She says it is not uncommon in other hockey cities where she and Cliff have been located—Atlanta, St. Louis, Calgary. "If the wives are happy, the players are happy," she says. "Off the ice has a lot to do with on the ice."

Many of the wives did not know one another. "We came from a lot of teams," recalled Al Fehr, whose husband, Grant, came from the great days of the Old dynasty in Edmonton. "There were girls at the luncheon who'd been with Vancouver, Los Angeles, the Rangers, Minnesota and other teams. Most of them had done something in their communities, and we were all anxious to do something here, especially something to benefit women. Becca Reese, Jeff's wife, came up with Nellie's as our project. Kanda Fritz, Michael's wife, recommended the Alice Fazzoli restaurant." Becca and Fritz were later invited to Calgary, but Fehr said, "The girls who came in fit right in."

So after weeks of organizing, the big night arrived on a Sunday in February, an all right for the team. The players, many of them with incomes far beyond their dreams or those of any of the 200 people who paid \$100 a ticket, wore special white sweatshirts with a Nellie's

emblem and went to work serving beer, coffee and drinks before the guests sat down, and then passed their wives to serve a five-course gourmet dinner when they did. These were not simply hockey players in aprons. For this night, these were waiters. They took orders, cleared tables and brought coffee and dessert with enthusiasm and unexpected skill.

Of course, the waiters were a large part of the dinner's attraction, an assortment of moonlighters whose combined incomes reached, at a guess, \$50 million weekly. Here, heading from the kitchen to his assigned table, was Grant Fehr, whose golfing alone brings him \$1.6 million a year. There, balancing a tray of veal scallopini, was a Grant Mearns waiter, who Doug Gilmour, a coach who is paid only slightly less than Fehr. And at various other tables were familiar hockey faces and their wives in earnest work. It was a sort of service for hockey fans.

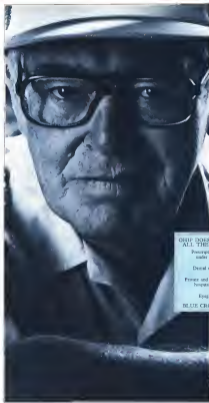
Earlier, guests' meals had been checked by Cliff Fletcher and Becca (by square name is Donna). But nobody has called her that since childhood. As the dinner began behind the dinner, she had passed the restaurant manager, Jess Robson, in selecting an auctioneer.

When they'd cleared the tables, the players were involved as an auction whose prizes ranged from a three-day packet with the Leafs to Los Angeles for a March 6 game against the Kings to a 90-minute balloon ride with two as-yet-unnamed Leaf players. There was even an auction for a ride between periods of a Leaf game on the Zamboni ice-resurfacing machine. Bidding on this breathtaking adventure ended when Paul Bessie, president of the Toronto Blue Jays, cried to the auctioneer, "hockey association! Joe Bonini, 'Twenty-five hundred'!"

At \$45,000, the dinner's take was a long way from, say, a philanthropist's endowment to a hospital, but it was an even longer leap from the average and greed of some athletes. As an example of the latter, basketballer David Robinson demanded that San Antonio Spurs owner Red McCombe provide a chartered aircraft for the team's road trips instead of first-class airline tickets. Such is the state of some of the big sports stars, the owner listened to do as he was told. The other day, Barry Bonds, outfielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates, demanded a cheque for his new \$4.7 million contract that grants him his own suite of hotel rooms when the Pirates play in San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Pirates obliged.

Such excess is the product of a peculiar market by some players, Jeffrey Sherman, an associate professor at New York University, is quoted by *The New York Times*. "There is a feeling of invulnerability and invulnerability among athletes. I think it's something that's conditioned them. There's a naive foolishness about them that they can take what they want and that society will overlook their transgressions."

Still, every once in a while, a kind of stream breaks through, as happened this night at Alice Fazzoli's Broken Crookneck Saloon, bringing hope that the fanatics haven't entirely taken over the system.



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The spice of life

Cultures clash in two pungent new movies

Masala is the Hindi word for a pungent mixture of spices. And by various coincidence it appears in the titles of two groundbreaking movies by Indian-born directors. Mira Nair's *Maternity* (MCA Home Video) and Krishna's *Masala* (MCA, \$49, a Harvard-educated filmmaker now based in New York City, was born in 1964 with her Oscar-nominated *Satnam* (Newby), a documentary-style drama about Asian children. With *Maternity* Nair, she has made a charmingly rare, Delhi, Washington, and a restaurant, New York, and a comedy, *Satnam*, is a gently exuberant tale of interracial romance. Krishna's *Masala* is a tender, less accomplished film. But it represents a remarkable feature debut for the Toronto-based director, a 27-year-old woman who also served as its writer, coproducer and star. A swirl of satire, drama, love and love, *Masala*'s unorthodox recipe makes *Maternity* Nair's *Masala* seem almost the Hollywood here. But in different ways, both movies offer something—and promise two actresses into North America's Indian diaspora.

Maternity *Masala* is a story of star-crossed love between Mira (Choudhury), the Uganda-born daughter of an Indian family living in Manhattan, and Desmetra (Hindley), a black American who runs his own cargo-carrying business. They are both, as mother character observes, from places they have never been. In his country, goes back to Africa, back to India. And amid the racism of the Deep South, they are both oppressed.

The narrative begins in 1912 with the expulsion of Mira's family from Uganda where she is a child. Her Uganda-born parents are descendants of Indian laborers who were imported by the British to build the East African railway in the late 1800s. Mira's father, Jay (Dharm Seth), a prosperous Kampala lawyer who takes his African heritage for granted, but under the brutal rule of Mr. Ames, he—like thousands of other Indian Ugandans—refused to register to vote. Cut to 1960, and to Georgetown, Guyana. Mira is 20, living with her family in one of the many Indian-run resorts that line the mangroves of the southern shore. She meets Desmetra literally by accident, driving on the back of his

van, and they begin a clandestine affair. Her parents are scandalized when they find out—they still cling to traditional Indian values, and bear a lingering grudge against blacks after what happened in Uganda. As Mira's family prepares to run their business, Desmetra fights for his dignity, telling her father, "You



Choudhury (left), Washington: the Indian diaspora

don't just a few shades lighter than me." Like last year's *Jungle Fever*, Spike Lee's controversial movie about sex across the color bar, *Maternity* *Masala* is a flower and Juliet tale of love wrecked by intolerance. But instead of parting spouses in black-and-white terms, Nair's film captures the politics of complexion at all their complexity. And unlike *Jungle Fever*, an exasperating drama that revolves around a loveless liaison, Nair's movie is a love story in which passion dominates. Despite its serious themes and historical

background, *Maternity* *Masala* dolls along with a frequent sense of comic whimsy. Nair uses a variety of stock characters to gently rebuke: the trope in the Indian community—sometimes to the point of undermining the drama. But the movie is a romance of heart, and Nair directs her two co-stars with an unbridled emotion. Washington reveals a quality of tenderness that he has never shown before: the camera adores him. Choudhury, an Indian who grew up with a mixture of influences in England, Jamaica, Mexico, Italy and Canada (she attended Queen's University), is a striking presence. Acting as her first love, she projects strength and emotional center.

Like Choudhury, *Maternity* *Masala* seems utterly fresh and charming. But it is also profoundly astonishing. Filmed in both Manhattan and Uganda, the first movie to be shot there since *The African Queen* (1952), it captures the exotic character of locations that are worlds apart, yet strangely linked. And on the music track, a colorful blend of Indian music. Mira Nair and African dance has it all together.

Maternity *Masala* is confined to Toronto's Indian community, but the ingredients are just as rich. The director plays a hard-working placement who lost his family in a plane crash (remnant of the 1982 Air India disaster). Indian actor David Jeffrey, who has starred in such films as *Gods* (1993) and *A Passage to India* (1985), portrays three different characters: a shady taxi driver, a bank manager who collects assets, and a blue-blooded Hindu deity who plays an illusion to answer a grandmother's prayers.

The movie presents an intricate blend of metaphors. The son marries with Mira as a struggling plot while coarsing, the drama of a literary columnist. With a hand from the film, the audience discovers a young woman lost a million dollars, then refuses to sell it. And the angry young man played by the director falls for the mother's daughter, a medical student who secretly dreams of becoming a commercial pilot.

There is a lot of audience imagery in *Masala*, as well as glossy allusions to Indian movie musicals and fantasies. The result is a surreal concoction that serves as an amusing study of the multicultural dream. But Krishna has found a difficult to get his movie distributed. It has been shown in India for eight months. And so far, as Canadian cinema has been limited to disastrous art cinema. Krishna, however, says that his film's real audience is in the suburbs, where it is largely seen. His explanation: while it is largely seen in North America, both *Masala* and the more mainstream *Maternity* *Masala* offer welcome relief from Hollywood's white-bread diet.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Maternity (left), Kravitz, Maternity comedy movies based on the children's lives

Maternal wisecracks

Two girls resent their mother's career

THIS IS MY LIFE

Directed by Mira Nair

A comedy about the perils of juggling single motherhood with a career is now shown. This is *My Life*, Nair's promising—in a funny way—a little piece of Hollywood heaven. The movie was written, produced, directed and starred almost entirely by women. It gives character actor John Kanan the role of Mira's, the adult cartoon housewife as a Fox Broadcasting. The *My Life* first leading role on the big screen. And it gives veteran screenwriter Mira Nair a long-overdue chance to direct. The script, which she cowrote with her sister, sister Mira Nair, is based on Mira's 1988 novel, *This Is My Life*, the story of a stand-up comedian who goes home at the expense of her two daughters. It also follows the Nair's sister's own experience in seeing their life come into act—as the children of two screenwriters. The movie, however, as disappointing. Despite some strong performances and amusing scenes, the story seems muddled and flat. A divorced mother of two, Mira (Nair) works at a restaurant owner at Mira's, the New York City department store, peering the sprawling garden of plants (even said she gets her big break outside in a comedy club. With the help of an influential agent (Shirley) and her brother's success (Carmel) and

her, Mira becomes a star in Hollywood and Las Vegas, leaving her two daughters at home in Manhattan with a variety of eccentric baby-sitters. The daughters, Erica (Suzanna M. Smith) and Gail (Katie Holmes), begin to resent their mother's absence, especially when they see their lives replicated other lives. While Mira's movie is a comedy, it is a serious performance to the sister daughter, Kravitz, is rarely sympathetic—even when she is supposed to be. And for such a successful comedian, her character is not quite funny enough. All the male characters are one-dimensional duds—including the sport played by Shirley, a beautiful cartoon who has a strange habit of mindlessly eating some paper.

As *This Life* Nair achieves a fine affect of comedy, mostly involving the daughters. In one inspired scene, Gail performs as a school pageant contestant. T-S. And in one of the most hilarious scenes, Mira's sister Erica's first sexual episode with her husband boyfriend prompts the movie's biggest laughs. But the script, despite its role director, overdoes one or two gaudiness. And director Nair's motherly her instincts set with two much longer segments—and a carefully timed track of comedy made. Carly Simon sings. By the end, the movie's claim in the title *This Is My Life* begins to sound more like an apology.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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Women fit for print

How women liberated The New York Times

THE GIRLS IN THE BALCONY WOMEN, MEN, AND THE NEW YORK TIMES
By Nan Robertson

(Random House, 274 pages, \$27)

It's a New York Times career that spanned more than three decades, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Nan Robertson, 65, witnessed firsthand the changing status of women at one of the world's leading newspapers. As a result, she writes, it was going to be a much stronger female colleague network

reporter with the Times' Washington bureau. Until the mid-1950s, reporters banned women from the capital's National Press Club, where many important politicians chose to deliver key speeches at lunch hours. And 1960s women could go inside—but they had to crowd, smooch and smile, into the balconies while their male colleagues dined at tables beneath them. The balcony, which Robertson describes as "one of the ugliest symbols of discrimination against women to be found in the world of journalism," remained the women's preserve until 1971, when the club began accepting women members.

But most of Robertson's book deals with breaking stories that unfolded within the shadowed walls of the 241-year-old Times. The Chicago-born author, who retired from the paper in 1988, argues that its public image as a "barred and benevolent institution" facilitated laws at odds with reality. She notes that Adolph S. Ochs, publisher from 1886 until his death in 1936, once boasted to a colleague that the Times had "almost a prohibition against the employment of women on our editorial staff."

However, a few gifted and exceptionally determined women did manage to get Times jobs in those days. In her book's early chapters, Robertson vividly profiles women like her: Ida M. Tarul, who in 1893 became the first Times woman to win a Pulitzer Prize. For nearly 80 years, McCormack oversaw the paper's women's section, including Lady's Day Victor Emmanuel II and Adolf Hitler in a Times magazine and regular correspondence. But only in 1926, a year after Ochs's death, did the newspaper finally get her on staff. She was 94.

When Robertson herself joined in 1952, the lot of women reporters had improved only slightly. Although she longed to work in the city room, she spent five years in that traditional female "balcony perk," the fiction section, before moving to city Times. In 1962, she began a decade-long stint as a feature redaction writer at the Times' Washington bureau.

For Robertson, the 1970s sex-discrimination suit remains "the single most important

collective event in the history of women at The New York Times." The conflict began brewing in 1972, when many women on staff became outraged that there were no female executives on the masthead. They also discovered that women were repeatedly passed over for promotions in favor of men, and that female reporters were making on average \$60 a week less than comparable males. A protracted legal struggle followed in which about one-third of the Times' 140 female staffers, calling themselves the Women's Caucus, took no management. They won an out-of-court settlement in 1978, but got only a pittance. Employees with 30 years or more seniority were awarded \$1,000; everyone else received less. Even so, Robertson argues persuasively, the lawsuit did much to improve women's standing in the long run: there are now many more women in high-ranking positions at the newspaper, and the salary gap is closing.

One of Robertson's great journalistic gifts is her uncanny willingness to show the strengths and foibles of people on both sides of the labor issues. She writes that by 1978, A. M. (Mac) Rosenthal, the Times' brilliant and mercurial executive editor, had become "exhausted" from rivalry by "a tiny circle of women." But she also recalls his great kindness to her in 1976 when her husband was dying. Still, the author fills her story of helping the Times management "close in the Women's Caucus who tried to change The New York Times loved the paper," she writes. "They wanted it to live up to its ideals." Robertson's book is a stirring chronicle of their struggle.

PAMELA YOUNG

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FICTION

- 1 *The Road to Omaha, Cather* (1)
- 2 *Being Sue, Cather* (2)
- 3 *The Republic of Steel, Smith* (3)
- 4 *Seinfeld and Saline, Smith* (4)
- 5 *Seinfeld, Smith*
- 6 *New, Acker* (5)
- 7 *New Boys See Girls, Cather* (7)
- 8 *Super Sweet, Maclean*
- 9 *Wilderness Tips, Atwood* (8)
- 10 *Member & Walking Injury, Cather* (6)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Bookends from Within, Stevens* (1)
- 2 *A Return to Love, Smith* (3)
- 3 *Backlash, Fisher* (2)
- 4 *Popcorn Report, Johnson* (6)
- 5 *Smith's Without Link to Canadiana* (5)
- 6 *The Belated of Canada, Harte* (7)
- 7 *Swimming Backwards, Smith and Smith* (4)
- 8 *Wild Swans, Chang*
- 9 *Supper Princess, Harte* (10)
- 10 *The New Canada, Harte* (7)

(1) *From last week*

Compiled by Brian Bellon

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Listen up, Gorby, write about sex

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are advantages, after all, in being in old fog, one who has been over and under the hoods, one who has been around the block perhaps too many times. The counter role of having one foot in the grave and the other on a horse's head is that you advise the oncomers, counsel the page, dispense wisdom to those still wet behind the ears.

This discovery of the joys of being in the state of decrepitude comes with contemplating the new career path of Mikhail Gorbachev, the latest newspaper columnist. The chap who has been designated "seniorly consultant" by Boris Yeltsin, obviously without either an exit, a pension plan or a gold watch, has graduated into the black hole of being 738 words of type regularly.

The *New York Times* is debuting this marvellous careerism of a statesman into a typist. The *Toronto Star* is carrying it. The *Vancouver Sun* is carrying it. Hundreds of otherwise sane newspapers around the world are carrying it—the editors of which obviously never having read it first.

It is a marvel of the ingenuity of every columnist in the world who, on right follow-up day, is approached at a cocktail party by some doctor who wants that, when he returns, he plans to be a writer. And the columnist, having had a scotch or two by then, confides that when he returns he plans to do brain surgery. It's the same. They never get the joke. But you go home feeling better.

Gorbachev, a man I respect enormously, did more than say intentions to change the world since Churchill. He is a more worthy recipient of his Nobel Prize than anyone within memory. However, that does not convert him into a columnist—a calling, as we know, only slightly short of the apoplexy.

This scribbler blushes to have to advise Comrade Gorbachev that I have read his early efforts. I am only trying to help. It is not that I support his should not, should be, day job, but since he doesn't have a day job anymore (he is like Abraham Lincoln put out to pasture, with a computer to play with. The man is not happy



One hesitates to be condescending to a Nobel Prize winner, but his aptitude for columnism comes from being old in the saddle. This type has been typing a newspaper column for 24 years, back when the man who ended the Cold War had killed communism was an obscure apparition in Russia. This here episode has been saving Canada on the back page for 17 years (with the obvious blood results). The day should later.

Gorby, some advice. As a columnist to the field, you should broaden up. Avoid certain subjects. At all costs, do not deliver criticisms on (a) abortion, (b) gay rights, (c) capital punishment, (d) feminism, (e) Newfoundland soil, (f) Madonna or (g) the economy.

None of this will come to my good. There are some arguments you can serve us. These are prior to the order of the history of mankind whose opinion has been changed because of the man's wit/eloquence/illness con-

found in a 735-word column; that, as we all know, should be covered in stone and carried down from the Mount.

The second-best piece of advice, Gorby—this is all free, mind you—is that you should be wary of the and the envelopes of which are written in red cursive. I once had a secretary, Miss Fremont, whose days—especially after a full moon—would bring in the mail compressed and separated into two piles and pocket which pile would designate her loss a sobering job and which a non-sobering task.

She was awfully correct, the female scribbles and cryptic deciphering the letters that thought the scribbler a raving idiot immediately discernible.

Gorby, pay attention to the full moon. The *New York Times* is the most prestigious platform in the world, especially for instant columnists, but you will feel—rushing through your fax mail—that some day wild dogs lay at the full moon of a white oak. Check the waste rates. Listen to the ladies. Read your mail. You will learn many things about human nature—far more than in the contents of the *Five-Year Plan*—by glancing the letters you receive when the moon does as they.

Gorby, listen up. I've read your early mail. I am quite aware—and I sympathize with you—that you have never had the advantage of having a cry editor as a small-town newspaper who has ordered you to go out and search a photo of the funeral of a family drowned in tears by the death of an ancestor who has just been left in a water-filled ditch on account of his being encumbered by the weight of lead overalls.

This footnote, we all realize, is something not your fault. However, you're in danger of becoming a bore, the only ailment fatal to a columnist. We know the chap was a trauma. Have you thought of giving us the details of when you and Kase go touring on Thursday nights? Or have you a view? Readers don't give a damn about Olympic reviews. They want to know if you suffer from that. That me.

As a practitioner of the second-oldest trade, Gorby, you've got to realize that the center don't really seek to know what you think, they want to know about you. The *Times* want the largest newspaper in the land, recently had public universal services for an expanded column who wrote about his family, his dog, his kids, his wife, his walk to work, his life.

People are bored, Gorby, with lofty solutions to problems. Leave that to the editorial staff, since no one ever reads them. Tell them about your sex life, Gorby. Please. Barbara Ann. She knows.

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